

FIRST INAUGURAL SPEECH

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# Late Addresses of Abraham Lincoln, 1861-1865

## First Inaugural Speech

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the  
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

**THE NATIONAL CAPITAL  
TO BE DEFENDED!**

**THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO  
BE MAINTAINED!**

**Concentration of Troops at Washington!**

**A COMPROMISE PROBABLE!**

**FORT PICKENS TO BE ATTACKED!**

**MR. LINCOLN AND HIS INAUGURAL.**

*New York, 29th.* There was an immense meeting of the citizens at Cooper Institute last night. A committee was appointed to visit the Conventions of Seceding States, in regard to the settlement of the disunion question at Washington.

The Washington correspondent of the Tribune says that arrangements are being made for the protection of the city, and to secure it against hostile attacks from a conspiracy within and invasion without.

It is stated that the vote in the Texas Convention election will not exceed one-third the vote of the State.

The Times Washington correspondent says that the Committee on the President's Special Message is about to report bills placing at the disposal of the Executive all necessary force to maintain the government and the execution of the laws.

A despatch to the Herald says that Senator Mallory, who is at Pensacola, has telegraphed to Senator Bigler that 1700 men are on the ground, ready to resist the reinforcement of Fort Pickens. If the Brooklyn should attempt to relieve the fort, a bloody fight would follow.

Mr. Reynolds will report a bill making it mandatory on the President to call out the volunteer militia for the suppression of insurrections, etc.

The Times despatch says that Mr. Crittenden had a long interview with Ex-President Tyler and expressed his regret that troops had been sent South at this particular juncture.

The World's despatch says that so many military companies are arriving in Washington that it is impossible to find quarters for them, and application has been made to the Mayor for the use of the basement of the City Hall.

The Tribune has positive information that a compromise on the basis of Mr. Crittenden's resolutions is sure to be carried in Congress this week or next, provided that a few more Republicans can be got to enlist in the enterprise.

*Springfield, Ill., 28th.* The Governor, it is thought with the advice of Mr. Lincoln, has decided to send Commissioners to the Convention at Washington on the 4th of February, to devise proper remedies for the adjustment of the present difficulties.

The first draft of Mr. Lincoln's inaugural, making the Chicago platform its basis, will not be finished until after consultation with the Republican leaders at Washington.

Col. Sumner and Major Hunter have been detailed by the War Department to accompany the President elect to Washington.

*Washington 29th.* Owing to the urgent remonstrances made by Secretary Dix, the seizure of the Marine Hospital at New Orleans has been satisfactorily settled.

Captain Faunce, of the revenue cutter Harriet Lane, is here.

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# **EVENING TRANSCRIPT.**

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**SATURDAY EVENING, MARCH 2, 1861.**

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## **SECOND EDITION.**

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**President Lincoln's Inaugural Address.**

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We shall publish on Monday afternoon, the Inaugural Address of Mr. Lincoln, together with an account of the Inauguration Ceremonies, to be received by telegraph, from Washington. As an announcement of the policy of the new administration, the Address will be eagerly read by the public. Newsmen will govern themselves accordingly.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS  
— OF —  
ABRAHAM LINCOLN,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

MARCH 4, 1861.

*Fellow Citizens of the United States:*

In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office.

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

NON-INTERFERENCE WITH SLAVERY IN THE STATES.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their permanent peace and security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension.

Indeed the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you.

I do but quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists.

I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them, and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

*Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by an armed force of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as the greatest of crimes.*

# **EVENING TRANSCRIPT.**

**MONDAY EVENING, MARCH 4, 1861.**

## **SECOND EDITION.**

**President Lincoln's Inaugural Address.**

This Address, which will be one of the most important documents ever emanating from a new incumbent of the Presidency, will be forwarded by telegraph today. We shall publish it in an Extra Transcript, this afternoon, as soon as possible after its reception. The public desire is so great to read the Address, that it, no doubt, will obtain an immense circulation.

**FOURTH OF MARCH.** Today inaugurates a new administration of national affairs. Mr. Lincoln assumes the presidency under circumstances which have brought pain to many a patriotic heart. Formerly the Fourth of March was of importance chiefly as it affected the fortunes of political parties. Now it has a wider and broader significance. The absolute weal or woe of the country may depend upon the utterances of the Executive of the Republic, as, this day, they shall go trembling over the telegraphic wires into every corner of the land. The people, whose mature opinions are always characterized by strong sense, know that the safety of the Republic depends, in a great degree, on the calmness and sagacity of him who now represents the conscience, intelligence, and strength of the Free States. Hence the popular ear will be quickened to catch every accent which shall fall from the lips of the new incumbent of the Presidential chair. Before midnight millions of his countrymen will have read his words! May they be such as will conciliate his honest opponents, and reassure the hearts of all true patriots!







INAUGURAL ADDRESS  
OF  
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, MARCH 4, 1861.

*Fellow-Citizens of the United States:*—In compliance with a custom, as old as the government itself, I appear before you, to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, to be taken by the President before he enters upon the exercise of his office. I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehensions. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that I have no purposes directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me, did so with full knowledge that I had made this and similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

“Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgement exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends;—and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.”

I now reiterate the sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and laws can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution, as any other of its provisions:

“No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered, upon claim of the party, to whom such service or labor may be due.”

It is scarcely questioned, that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves, and the intention of the law giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause shall be delivered up, their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort, in good temper, could they not with equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath? There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should any one in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again—in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty, known in civilized and humane jurisprudence, to be introduced, so that a free man be not in any case surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservation, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypocritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be constitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the Executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties.—A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now fearfully attempted. I hold, that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all National Governments. It is safe to assert that no government, proper, ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution and the Union will endure forever; it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again—If the United States be not a Government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it, break it so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles,

we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed in fact by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly pledged and engaged that it should be perpetual by the Articles of Confederation in 1778; and, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution, was to form a more perfect Union.

But, if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution. Having lost the vital element of perpetuity, it follows, from these views, that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purposes of the Union, that it will constitu-

tionally defend and maintain itself. In doing this, there needs be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none, unless it shall be forced upon the National authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imports; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. When hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object.

While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices. The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection.

The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm or deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from, have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained.

Is it true, then, that any right plainly written on the Constitution has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this thing. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution. Certainly it would if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them.

But organic law can never be framed with a provision specifically applicable to the every question. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions.

Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by National or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minorities will not acquiesce, the majorities must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative for continuing the Government than acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which, in turn, will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them,



or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the fact and temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession? Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy; a majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is possible. The rule of a minority as a permanent arrangement is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit as to the object of that suit. While they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government; and while it is obviously possible that such decisions may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice.—At the same time the candid citizen must confess, that, if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers; having, to that extent, practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Nor is there in this view any assault upon the Court or the Judges.—It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them; and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute.

The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced as any law can ever be in the community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal objection in both cases, and a few break over in each.—This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse, in both cases, after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

We cannot, physically speaking, separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and inter-

to make that intercourse more advantageously or more satisfactorily after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war—you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people, who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact, that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself. And I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose, fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add, that to me the Convention mode seems preferable in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse.

I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution, which amendment, however, I have not seen, has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconception of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say, that holding such a provision to now be the implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this, also, if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with His eternal truth and justice be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgement of that great tribunal, the American people. By the frame of the Government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servant but little power for mischief, and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no great object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either.

If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no signal good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsake this land, are still competent to adjust

in the best way all our present difficulty. In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it.

I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies.—Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell with the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will, by the better angels of our nature.





## FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

MARCH 4TH, 1861.

*Fellow-Citizens of the United States :*

In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President, before he enters on the execution of his office.

I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that, by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property and their peace

conviction before God, that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally round the flag of his country.

I thank you again for this magnificent demonstration. By it you show you have laid aside party strife. Illinois has a proud position—United, firm, determined never to permit the Government to be destroyed. (Prolonged cheering.)

and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists." I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me, did so with the full knowledge that I had made this, and made many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

*"Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."



I now reiterate these sentiments; and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming Administration.

I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

“No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law.

All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as well as

any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by National or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done; and should any one, in any case, be content that this oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in the civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guaranties that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States?"

I take the official oath to-day with no mental

reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During that period fifteen different and very distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task, for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties.

A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termin-

ation. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself.

The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation, in 1778; and, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before,

the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect, are legally void; and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, which I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.

I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it is forced upon the national authority.

The power confided to me *will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging*

*to the Government*, and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people that object. While the strict legal right may exist of the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union.

So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection.

The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons, in one section or another, who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny. But if there be such, I need address no word to them.

To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak, before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes? Would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step, while any portion of the ills you fly from, have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to, are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted, that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this.

Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly-written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly-written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution; it certainly would,



if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case.

All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authorities? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class, spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case, will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why not

any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

A majority held in restraint by constitutional check and limitation, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; and the rule of a majority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible. So that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the government; and while it is obviously possible that

such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice.

At the same time the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, as in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own masters, unless having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink, to decide cases properly brought before them; and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions into political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended; and this is the only substantial dispute; and the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a com-

munity where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking we cannot separate— we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different sections of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease

fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

I will venture to add, that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish either to accept or refuse. I understand that a proposed amendment to the Constitution (which amendment, however, I have not seen) has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic

institutions of States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves, also, can do this if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal, the American people. By the frame of the Government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided

for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time.

If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it.

Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either.

If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you.



You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

## SPEECH THAT MOLDED A NATION'S FUTURE

Great Epoch-Making Address Delivered by Abraham Lincoln as He Took the Oath of Allegiance on His First Inauguration as President of the United States Before a Vast Throng at the National Capitol on the Fourth of March in 1861

**F**ELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES: In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters the execution of his office."

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

*RESOLVED:* That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory; no matter under what pretext, as among the greatest of crimes.

I now reiterate these sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort

## Self-Government Depends Upon a Unity of Purpose

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in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should any one in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizen of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"?

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period, fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever—it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so as to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen states expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And,

## There Need Be No Bloodshed Nor Violence in Justice

finally, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "to form a more perfect Union."

But if the destruction of the Union by one or by part of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere notion can lawfully get out of the Union; and resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, to occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior locality, shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable, withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time such use of these offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?



## Majority Opinion Is the Only True Sovereign

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All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such a right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by state authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. *May* Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. *Must* Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the government is acquiescence on one side or the other.

If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union, as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession?

Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court; nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be over-ruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the

## This Country with Its Institutions Belongs to the People

candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the others believe it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution, and the law of the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases, after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible then to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions of intercourse are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not specially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with

## Patient Confidence in Ultimate Justice of the People

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the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government, as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief; and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any one of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in dispute, there still is no good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulties.

In your hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect and defend" it.

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it, it must not break our bond of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.



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## THE INAUGURATION.

WASHINGTON, March 4.—Noon.—The weather is gloriously beautiful to-day, and the heavens smile auspiciously on the incoming Administration. May the omen not be falsified by the future. The city is crowded as it never was before, swarms of people filling Pennsylvania Avenue.

## THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

HE WILL ENFORCE THE LAWS,  
RETAKE THE PUBLIC PROPERTY,  
AND  
COLLECT THE REVENUE.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES:—In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office.

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss these matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered.

There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the periodicals and speeches of him who now addresses you.

I do not quote from one of these speeches when I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

Those who nominated and elected me, did so with the full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read.

*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially of the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend. And we denounce the lawless invasion, by an armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the greatest of crimes."

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible—that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the new incoming Administration.

I add, too, that all the protection which consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivery of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation

therein, be discharged from from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it, for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves, and the intention of the law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other.

To the proposition then, that slaves whose cases, came within the terms of this clause, and "shall be delivered up" their oaths are unanimous. Now if they would make the effort in good temper could they not with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath.

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by the National or State authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done.

And should any one in any case be content that his oath shall be unkept, or a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again—in any law upon this subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in the civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man may not be, in any case, surrendered as a slave?

And might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the provisions and immunities of citizens in the several States?"

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservation, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced.

I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to, and abide by, all these acts which stand unrevoked, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is scarcely seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period, fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the Executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils and generally with great success. Yet, withal this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in contemplation of the universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all National Governments. It is safe to assert that the Government proper never had a provision in its organic law for its own termination.

I shall continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in that instrument itself. Again, if the United States be ~~not~~ government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract more or less, can it be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it?

One party to the contract may violate it, break it, so to speak; does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself: the Union is



much older than the Constitution. It was formed in part by the Articles of Association in 1774.

It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly pledged and engaged that it should be perpetuated by the articles of Confederation, in 1778, and finally in 1787. One of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution, was to form a more perfect Union, but if the destruction of the Union by one or a part only of the States be lawfully possible, then the Union is less than before.

The Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity, it follows from these views that no State, upon its mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union. That resolves, and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence against any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and laws the Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution expressly enjoins on me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States.

Doing this, I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some other authoritative manner, direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace but only as the declared purpose of the Union, that I will constitutionally defend and maintain it. In doing this their need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority.

The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties on imports, but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility in any interior locality shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so totally impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for a time the uses of such offices.

And, unless repelled, will continue to be in possession of all parts of the Union, so far as possible. The people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which the most favorable and calm thought and reflection.

The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons, in one section or another, who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny, but if there be such I will address no words to them.

Those, however, who really love the Union, I will not speak before entering it, so as to be as the destination of a vessel, so as to be all its results, its

What are the prospects? Would it not be wise to ascertain previously why we do so? Will it be so desperate a step, while there is probability that any portion of the ills from, have no real existence. And you,

while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained.

Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the Constitution has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify a revolution.

It certainly would, if such a right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them.

But no organic law can be framed with a provision specially applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions.

Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the Territory?

The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our Constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative for continuing the Government but acquiescence on the one side or the other.

If a minority is such a case will second rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which, in turn, will divide and ruin them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority.

For instance, may not any portion of a new Confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union, as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

A majority, held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with the deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people.

Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or despotism—unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible, so that rejecting the majority principle, anarchy and despotism, in some form, is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court. Nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case, upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other Departments of the Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it being limited

to that particular case with the chance that it may be overruled, and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made by ordinary litigation, between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically assigned their government into the hands of their eminent tribunal.

Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty every citizen owes to obey the decisions, though he believes them to be wrong. If others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes, one section of our country believes that slavery right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute.

The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law ever can be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each.

This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be alternately revived without restraint in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking we cannot separate, we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence, and beyond the reach of each other.

But the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and an intercourse either amicable or hostile must continue between them.

Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separating than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws among friends?

Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.

I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended.

While I make no recommendations of amendments, I fully recognize the awful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I shall, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the Convention mode seems preferable, inasmuch as it allows the amendment to originate with the people themselves instead of permitting them to take or reject a proposition originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and

(incomplete)



# EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

TUESDAY EVENING, MARCH 5, 1861.

## BRILLIANTS.

DANAE.

Whilst, around her lone ark sweeping,  
Wailed the winds and waters wild,  
Her young cheeks all wan with weeping,  
Danae clasped her sleeping child;  
And "Alas!" (cried she, "my dearest,  
What deep wrongs, what woes, are mine!  
But not wrongs nor woes thou fearest,  
In that sinless rest of thine.  
Faint the moonbeams break above thee,  
And, within here, all is gloom;  
But fast wrapt in arms that love thee,  
Little reck'st thou of our doom,  
Not the rude spray round thee flying,  
Has e'en damped thy clustering hair,—  
On thy purple mantlet lying,  
O mine innocent, my fair!  
Yet, to thee were sorrow sorrow,  
Thou would'st lend thy little ear,  
And this heart of thine might borrow  
Haply yet a moment's cheer.  
But no; slumber on, Babe, slumber;  
Slumber, ocean-waves; and you,  
My dark troubles, without number,—  
O that ye would slumber too!  
Though with wrongs they've brimmed my chance,  
Grant, Jove, that, in future years,  
This boy may defeat their malice,  
And avenge his mother's tears."

(Simonides, (Greek.)

Translation of William Peter.

## SPRING.

Sweet daughter of a rough and stormy sire,  
Hoar Winter's blooming child, delightful Spring!  
Whose unshorn locks with leaves  
And swelling buds are crowned,  
Sweet is thy reign, but short; the red dog-star  
Shall scorch thy tresses, and the mower's scythe  
Thy greens, thy flow'rets all,  
Remorseless shall destroy.

(Mrs. Barbauld.

## AFFECTION.

True, there is better love, whose balance just  
Mingles soul's instinct with our grosser dust,  
And leaves affection, strengthening day by day,  
Firm to assault, impervious to decay.

(Mrs. Norton.

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS

—OF—

ABRAHAM INCOLN,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

MARCH 4, 1861.

### Fellow Citizens of the United States:

In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of the duties of his office.

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

### NON-INTERFERENCE WITH SLAVERY IN THE STATES.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their permanent peace and security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension.

Indeed the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you.

I do but quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists.

I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by an armed force of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as the greatest of crimes.

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now Incoming Administration.

I add too that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, where lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

### THE FUGITIVE SLAVE CLAUSE AND PROTECTION TO CITIZENS.

There is much controversy about the delivering up fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it, for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves, and the intention of the law givers is the law.

All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause shall be delivered up, their oaths are unanimous.

Now if they would make the effort in good temper, would they not with equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by National or State authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one.

If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence, to him or to others, by which authority it is done; and should any one, in any case, be content that his oath should go unkept, on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not in any case surrendered as a slave; and might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?

I take the official oath today with no mental reservations and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypocritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts that stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of government. They have conducted it through many perils and generally with great success. Yet with all this scope for precedent I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under grave and peculiar difficulties.

### THE UNION TO BE MAINTAINED.

A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual.

Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a compact merely, can it as a compact be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a compact may violate it, break it, so to speak, but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed in fact by the articles of association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly pledged and engaged that it should be perpetual by the articles of confederation in 1778 and finally in 1792.

One of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union; but if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

### UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF SECESSION.

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union—that resolves or ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

### THE LAWS TO BE EXECUTED AS FAR AS PRACTICABLE.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the Laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and shall perform it as far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the

American People, shall withdraw the requisition, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary.

I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union, that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself. In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the National authority.

### THE PUBLIC PROPERTY TO BE PROTECTED.

#### THE REVENUES TO BE COLLECTED.

The power conferred to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and collect the duties and imports; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

Where hostility to the United States in any interior territory shall be so great and so universal as to prevent the competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among people that object. While the strict legal right may exist for the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time, the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union, so far as possible. The people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope to a peaceful solution of the national trouble and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

### THE PERPETUITY OF THE UNION PARAMOUNT.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there should be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak. Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our National fabric with all its benefits, its memories and its hopes, would it not be well to ascertain precisely why we do it?

Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the Union you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union if all Constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true then, that any right plainly written in the Constitution has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plain written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied.

### THE MAJORITY PRINCIPLE.

If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view justify revolution; certainly would, if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case; all the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negatives, guarantees and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a peculiar provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration; no foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions.

Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by National or by State authorities? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional prejudices, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no other alternative for continuing the government—acquiescence on one side or the other.

If a minority in such a case will secede, rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority.

For instance, why may not any portion of a new Confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again precisely as a portion of the present Union now claims to secede from it?

All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interest among the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession?



## SECESSION VIRTUALLY ANARCHY OR DESTROYISM.

Mainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority, held in restraint by Constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with the deliberate changes of popular opinion and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible—the rule of a minority as a permanent arrangement is wholly inadvisable—so that rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

### SUPREME COURT DECISIONS.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit, as to the objects of that suit. While they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government, and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

### THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended; this is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself.

The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before.

The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

### PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES OF DISUNION.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parties of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse—either amicable or hostile relations—must continue between them.

Is it possible then to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

### SUGGESTIONS IN REGARD TO A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their Constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

I will venture to add that to me the Convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take a proposition originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse.

### MR. CORWIN'S AMENDMENT ENDORSED.

I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution, which amendment I have not seen, has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconception of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to be now implied Constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

## POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT.

The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this alone, if they choose; but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor.

### APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better, or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail, by the judgment of this great tribunal—the American people.

By the same of the Government under which we live

the same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands, at very short intervals. While the people retain virtue and vigilance, no Administration of any extreme of wickedness or folly can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time, but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point—the laws of your own framing under it, while the new Administration have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single good cause for precipitate action.

Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assault you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors.

You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it.

I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearth-stone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

# A SURPRISING STORY.

## It Does Not Correspond with the Way Lincoln Modified Seward's Mason-Sidell Letter.

In the article, "Seward's Attitude Toward Secession," by Frederic Bancroft, in the November "Atlantic," Bancroft speaks of Seward's revision of Lincoln's inaugural address:

After Lincoln came to Washington, February 23, he submitted a copy of his prospective inaugural address to Seward for criticism. In it Lincoln had planted himself firmly upon the last Republican platform. In several places sentences were lacking in tact, and occasional phrases and words had a flavor of dogmatism or severity, considering the times. It concluded with the suggestive sentence, "With you, and not with me, is the solemn question of 'Shall it be peace or a sword?'" It was all intended in a kindly spirit, and some passages were generous and touching, but the other parts would have more than counteracted them.

Seward went through the entire copy, making a sentence here and there less positive, rounding many of the phrases, and softening some of the adjectives. He counseled the omission of a few careless and useless sentences; and where Lincoln had gone so far as to say a disruption of the Federal Union is menaced, and so far as can be on paper, is already effected," Seward changed the latter part into "heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted." Seward suggested that, in lieu of the conclusion quoted, the address should end with "some words of affection, some of calm and cheerful confidence," and wrote the wonderful paragraph about "our bonds of affection" and "the mystic chords," which Lincoln adopted, and which, only slightly changed, has gone into political literature as one of Lincoln's most touching passages. In returning the copy Seward frankly stated his belief that if the passages referring to the platform were retained, even in a modified form, Virginia and Maryland would secede; that within sixty or ninety days Washington would have to rely for its defense upon a divided North, and that there would not be one loyal magistrate or ministerial officer south of the Potomac. Lincoln adopted nearly all of Seward's suggestions, and omitted the objectionable passages. The well-balanced firmness of the speech gave confidence to the North, and its fraternal and generous sentiments had a good effect upon the whole South.

3.  
3.  
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1854

Webster, Daniel: Reply to Hayne

"When the latter (Lincoln) began his work (First Inaugural Address), he sent for Herndon and told him what books and papers he would probably need, and Herndon promptly secured them for him.

Here is the list: Andrew Jackson's Proclamation Against Nullification, Henry Clay's Speech on The Compromise of 1850, and a copy of the Constitution. Later he asked for Webster's Reply to Hayne."

Weik, Jesse W.: Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. The Outlook, July 12, 1913, page 573



Tarbell, Life III-11.

Lincoln's close of First Inaugural.

"In YOUR hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in MINE is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail YOU. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. YOU have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

So L. intended to close. \* Seward objected and suggested the following:

"I close. We are not, we must not be, aliens or enemies, but fellow-countrymen and brethren. Although passion has strained our bonds of affection too hardly, they must not, I am sure they will not be broken. The mystic chords which, proceeding from so many battlefields and so many patriotic graves, pass through all the hearts and hearths in this broad continent of ours, will yet again harmonize in their ancient music when breathed upon by the guardian angel of the nation."

Lincoln's final draft.

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

\* For reproduction of the manuscripts of L. and Seward, see. Wilson, ed. Hist. Am. People. VIII, 47.  
(Doc. Edition, 1918)

The last two lines of the printed copy were crossed out, presumably after the addition of close suggested by Seward.



171 *Winnipeg*  
Winnipeg, Man.

January 8th 1920

Judd Stewart, Esq.,  
120 Broadway  
New York City, U.S.A.

Dear Mr Stewart:-

Your photostat copy of Lincoln's draft of the first inaugural came to hand yesterday. Very much obliged. I took it home with me last night and compared it with the address as delivered. I have no copy of Lambert's Gettysburg, but I do not see how you are to treat the inaugural in the same way, that is, I suppose, line by line alternately. In the inaugural there are whole paragraphs of the draft address left out, and there are several changes to the extent of 2 or 3 lines of difference at a time.

I should think you would need a parallel column or page as you suggest. I first made out a list on the margin of the photostat of changes; then turned to Miss Tarbell and Niccolay and Hay who treat of it, the latter in their third volume. I could almost think you would need a third column for Seward's and Browning's suggestions. But you could hardly give them a column because their references are only to occasional paragraphs. I would suggest the use of parallel pages with notes for Seward's suggestions at the bottom.

I would refer to Browning as you suggest and also put in the Fac Simile (perhaps a printed copy would be sufficient) of Lincoln's letter to Prentice. You should state that you have

Judd Stewart

the draft. Readers will like to know where it is.

As to comment, why not in addition to anything of your own quote a few things said about the closing paragraph. See Charnwood about page 197 "The last sentence of the speech which line is much remembered is Seward's in the first construction and the slightly hackneyed sentence with which it ends, Lincoln's in the touch of haunting beauty which is on it." Nicclay has something like that.

The second inaugural is one of the finest things in literature even ahead of the Gettysburg address and of the letter to Mrs Bixby, but the close of the first commencing with "my dissatisfied fellow countrymen" cannot be surpassed.

I suggest your looking up some of the comments that have been made on it. The whole inaugural is a very able document as an argument and a State paper but its appeal is not universal as to time for the situation as to public feeling and interest has changed much in sixty years. The second inaugural makes a universal appeal.

There must be one other copy of the first draft. Nicclay says that Lincoln pronounced the address from one of these copies (printed in Springfield?) of course, with his corrections written in the margin. They print a fac simile of part of the last page. Where is that copy? Nicclay & Hay must have had possession of it when writing their history. What did Seward do with his? Yours I presume is the only copy that is not checked up by changes.

Which will you use for your main text if you employ parallel columns, the draft or the address as delivered? As the



Judd Stewart

biographers have employed the latter as their basis I take it you would be justified in giving the draft the greater prominence.

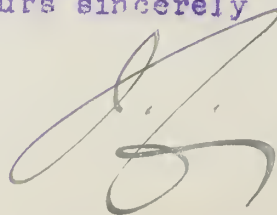
Look up the Chicago platform of 1860. You might make some note of your own as to whether Browning and Seward were right in thinking that the inclusion of the second and third paragraphs of the draft would really have been of great annoyance to the people of the slave states. The suggestion seems to have influenced Lincoln and he omitted them. Possibly the platform contains some strong expressions about slavery, but looking simply at the two clauses of the draft I should think that they are merely truisms. But of course in 1920 we cannot very well judge of how people felt in 1861. We see now that the Civil War had to come. No inaugural could have prevented it. But it was right to try to.

I have no doubt you will have a period of pleasant study over this matter and I hope you will be able to satisfy yourself as to the form you give the reproduction. If you are satisfied Lincoln lovers generally will be the same.

Have you seen a recent book by Grierson on the "practical mysticism" of Lincoln? He recognizes even more of this than Dr Chapman. If some of these later day authors keep on they will soon have him a demigod and then he won't be of much use to us common people.

A Happy New Year and many of them to you and yours.

Yours sincerely



IC/S

P.S. When yours arrived yesterday I thought some author had treated this draft address and the Seward suggestions in still

greater detail but I cannot find the volume and must have been quite mistaken. The fact is that ever since Judge Fish was here in August last my Lincoln's have been in a state of great disorder I cannot find anything I want.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, consisting of a stylized, cursive 'A' followed by a flourish.

*The Sunday Star Wash, D.C.*  
**When Lincoln Lost** 2/6/21

## His Inaugural Speech

**D**URING the four months which intervened between the election of Abraham Lincoln and his inauguration, besides other and many duties, he devoted himself to writing his inaugural address. This first inaugural speech, now become a classic, was written in a quiet room on the second floor of the building occupied by his brother-in-law, as a store, and near the statehouse, in which Lincoln was installed in the governor's room, shortly after his election.

It was this address which gave Lincoln what he described as the most agonizing half hour he ever spent. With the care and secrecy which still surrounds the preparation and printing of an inaugural address, this famous document was written and placed in the hands of one of the editors of a newspaper, the Illinois State Journal.

The editor, with a single compositor, locked himself in the composing room. The speech was set up, proof taken and read and a dozen copies printed; after which the type was immediately distributed. This was all done almost under the eyes of the correspondents with whom Lincoln daily talked.

Mr. Seward and other advisers had suggested that owing to the feverish state of the country it would be well for the President-elect to arrive at Washington some days ahead of the inauguration. This could be arranged, as he had received many invitations to stop en route at the principal cities through which he would have to pass and address the legislatures and other public bodies.

Lincoln decided to leave Springfield by special train on February 11, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln, their children, his two private secretaries and about a dozen personal friends.

The inaugural address, which had been so carefully guarded, was placed by Lincoln himself in a small, old-fashioned oilcloth carpet bag and intrusted to his son Robert to carry, without, however, explaining its contents.

On the journey young Lincoln, who was having his first real taste of public life, enjoyed every mile of the trip, and when the train arrived at Indianapolis, he was so bent on seeing the sights that he hurried to the hotel ahead of his distinguished father, gave the carpet bag to the hotel clerk with other luggage and started out to enjoy himself.

Lincoln had hardly settled in his room when he remembered the precious message, but the bag containing it was nowhere to be seen. It is said that his anguish was intense as he pictured to himself the theatricality of the situation, as word after word of his inaugural address would be flashed over the wires and appear in flaming headlines in the morning papers. He knew the country to be waiting with ill-concealed impatience for some official utterance from him upon a situation already tense to the point of breaking.

He hurried down to the hotel office to inquire about the bag, and seeing a pile of luggage behind the counter, cleared the latter with a single spring and began to search like mad. Carpet bag after carpet bag was torn open until there, quite at the bottom, lay the little black oilcloth one containing the speech.

It was for the English critics to discover for America the wonderful strength, purity and choice of Lincoln's English as exhibited in the first and second inaugural addresses and the Gettysburg address, all of which have now been translated into many languages.

## When Lincoln Lost His Inaugural Speech

From the Washington Star.

During the four months which intervened between the election of Abraham Lincoln and his inauguration, besides other and many duties, he devoted himself to writing his inaugural address. This first inaugural speech, now become a classic, was written in a quiet room on the second floor of the building occupied by his brother-in-law, as a store, and near the statehouse, in which Lincoln was installed in the governor's room, shortly after his election.

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## When Lincoln Lost

### His Inaugural Speech

*Kansas City Star, Feb. 7, 1927*  
From the Washington Star.

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MRS. BEATRICE HASTINGS, A HIGHLY PAID ADVERTISING EXPERT.

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with the late oration; with observations relating thereto; together with some very pertinent extracts from an ingenious composition never yet published;" Boston, printed and sold by E. Russell, 1772; "The sign of the times," by Samuel Gatchel, Danvers, E. Russell, 1781.

The sexcentenary of the death of Dante Alighieri brought out many publications regarding Dante. Coincidentally also with the anniversary a number of standard Dante items appeared in the market. The opportunity thus existed for the Library to make some desirable additions to its Dante collection. Among purchases were: "Le terze rime di Dante," Venetis, In aedib. Aldi accvratissime, 1502, the first edition of the Divine Comedy in handy form, those preceding having been of folio size; "Dante con l'espositioni di Christoforo Landino et d'Alessandro Vellvtello sopra la sua Comedia dell' Inferno, del Purgatorio, & del Paradiso," Venetia, Giouambattista Marchiò Sessa & fratelli, 1578; "La Comédie de Dante, de l'Enfer, du Purgatoire et Paradis mise en ryme françoise et commettée par M. B. Grangier," "Paris, Pour la vefve Drobet, 1596-97, first edition in the French language; "Comedia di Dante degli Allagherii, col commento di Jacopo di Giovanni dalla Lana, Bolognese. In onore di Bologna nel 600 anno dalla nascita del poeta ed. da L. Scarabelli," Milano, 1865; "La Divina commedia di Dante Alighieri, col comento del p. Baldassarre Lombardi, M. C., ora nuovamente arricchito di molte illustrazioni edite ed inedite," Padova, Tip. della Minerva, 1822; "La Divina commedia. Facsimile del codice Landiano (MCCCXXXVI). Con prefazione ed introduzione di A. Balsamo e G. Bertoni," Firenze, L. S. Olschki, 1921.

#### Division of Manuscripts

(From the report of the acting chief,  
Dr. Moore.)

The Department of State, supplementing the transfer of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States to the Library of Congress, has added all the papers relating to both of these fundamental documents and also all papers relating to the Congress of the Confederation. These include Madison's Journal of the Constitutional Convention; the journal, acts and proceedings of that convention, and the Articles of Confederation ratified March 1, 1781. Also the record of the ordinance of Congress from 1781 to 1788, as well as those for the government of the western territory of the United States. Also Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence.

The department also transferred the papers relating to foreign relations during the Revolution, including the secret journal of foreign affairs; the letters of Robert R. Livingston

and John Jay, secretaries for foreign affairs; the reports of Jay to Congress; official letters of Benjamin Franklin, minister to France; letters of Arthur Lee from Paris, Berlin, and Madrid, including his correspondence on the Silas Deane controversy; letters of John Adams from Paris, Amsterdam, The Hague, and London; letters from the joint commissioners to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce (Franklin, Adams and Jefferson); official letters of Jefferson as minister to France; letters of William Carmichael and John Jay from Spain, Ralph Izard from the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Henry Laurens from Holland, and Francis Dana from Russia; letters of Conrad Alexandre Gérard and Anne Césaire (Chevalier) de la Luzerne, ministers of France to the United States; letters of John Holker, agent of marine and consul of the King of France; and other correspondence relating to the foreign affairs of the Confederation.

Henry Adams, in preparation for writing his History of the United States, had made transcripts from the diplomatic correspondence of Great Britain, France, and Spain from 1787 to 1814. These transcripts were bound handsomely in 20 volumes. Before there was a manuscript department in the Library of Congress, Mr. Adams deposited his transcripts in the Department of State. In order to place this material with other like collections used by writers of history, Secretary Hughes, with the consent of Mr. Charles Francis Adams, has permitted the transfer to the Library.

The more important additions to the Washington papers comprise letters to Lord Stirling, William Preston, Madison, and Gov. Henry Lee; photostats of the papers in the Minnesota Historical Society, relating to the navigation of the Potomac and James Rivers; memoranda of the expense of the Mount Vernon plantation; William Pearce's account book as manager of Mount Vernon; Tobias Lear's estimate of expenses of the President of the United States, 1789; a letter from the Comte de Grasse; a list of Washington's Pennsylvania land rents. From the United States Naval Academy (thru the courtesy of Rear Admiral Henry B. Wilson, the superintendent) came copies of the accounts of Bushrod Washington and Lawrence Lewis, as executors of the estate of George Washington, and of Lund Washington's Mount Vernon accounts, 1782-1786.

Among the papers of the House of Representatives deposited in this Library is a letter of Martha Washington consenting to the removal of the remains of General Washington from Mount Vernon to the Capitol. The Library has purchased the draft, in Washington's handwriting, of a letter from Mrs.



Washington to Col. David Humphreys, thanking him for a gold chain. Also the Naval Academy gave a photostat of a letter in her handwriting to John Dandridge, 1787. The Library possesses a photostat of a letter, now in the Massachusetts Historical Society, describing the excellent living conditions experienced at Cambridge during the Revolution. Mrs. Washington's writing is that of a trained hand; yet it is noteworthy that so few of her letters are extant.

#### Presidential Manuscripts

President Lincoln's first inaugural was printed privately in Springfield. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward revised it in Washington and a good many changes were made. Mr. Nicolay gave to the press a copy of the revised discourse, made up of the sheets printed in Springfield and of the changes agreed upon in Washington, which were in Mr. Nicolay's handwriting. The original sheets came into the possession of Professor Charles Eliot Norton and are now in the Harvard Library. Thru the courtesy of the librarian, Mr. William C. Lane, photostat copies have been furnished to this library.

J. Pierpont Morgan has continued his benefactions by giving photostat copies of his entire Lincoln collection, including a number of important letters not printed in Lincoln's Complete Works.

Additions made to the Roosevelt papers comprise letters written to him while Governor of New York, 1899-1901; muster rolls of the Rough Riders and letters relating to the Spanish War; and miscellaneous papers, *Outlook* editorials, and proceedings of the Porto Rico Legislature, 1900-1901.

The Library has acquired two French documents prepared in 1750, when the French learned of the incursions of the British into the Ohio territory. One is the summary of the answer made by Vaudreuil and Bégon, 1719, to questions by the King as to the boundaries of New France; the second, a statement of the rights of France in North America, being a *mémoire* sent in 1688 by Denonville, Governor of New France, to Colbert, in which communication the discoveries and establishments of La Salle are set forth at length.

#### Library Manuscripts

The literary section of the collections grows steadily by gifts. Mr. Justice Holmes, a large user of the Library and a constant contributor to its treasures, has given during the year many manuscripts of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, among them "The Poet at the Breakfast Table," "Over the Teacups," "A Mortal Antipathy," "Our Hundred Days," the biographies of Emerson and Motley, and a volume of poems. Also he gave a number of

John Lothrop Motley letters and a letter of Frederick Locker inclosing a stanza written by Tennyson to replace one in "The Coming of Arthur."

During the year over 45,200 manuscripts have passed thru the manuscript repair section, besides books, parchments, and other items.

#### Division of Documents

(From the report of the chief, Dr. Harris)

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, the accessions to the Library thru the division of documents were as follows:

	Volumes	Pamphlets
Received by virtue of law.....	3,001	5,269
Gifts of the Government of United States in all its branches.....	453	1,128
Gifts of State governments.....	3,166	8,124
Gifts of local governments.....	1,135	1,716
Gifts of foreign governments.....	5,046	7,533
Gifts of corporations and associations	236	423
By transfer .....	525	1,127
By purchase, exchange, deposit and transfer (counted in order division).	3,275	4,878
By binding periodicals .....	1,457	....
Total handled .....	18,294	30,198

In addition to the above, 1,594 maps and charts have been received by official donation.

The total number of volumes and pamphlets handled during the year was 48,492 as compared with 50,181 for the preceding year. During the year 1920-21 conditions in many foreign countries remained unsettled and in others the need for economy has resulted in a reduction in the amount of printing undertaken. These two causes resulted in a decline in our receipts from foreign countries. There was also a distinct decline in the number of publications received from the various branches of the Federal Government.

#### The Year's Best Movies

**L**IFE steps forth at the New Year to announce the prize winners among motion-pictures. The best motion pictures of the year in its opinion were:

"Robin Hood," Tol'able David," "Grandma's Boy," "Nanook of the North," "Oliver Twist," "When Knighthood Was in Flower," "Orphans of the Storm," "The Eternal Flame," "The Prisoner of Zenda," "Blood and Sand," "One Glorious Day."

HERMAN MELVILLE'S "Apple-Tree Table and Other Sketches" and "John Marr and Other Poems" have been published by the Princeton University Press. The two volumes, boxed, will be sold only in sets. Of the first edition, however, one hundred and fifty copies of each will be printed on handmade paper and numbered and may be obtained singly.

National Republic, Feb., 1928

## Lincoln's First Inaugural

Delivered by President Lincoln March 4, 1861

THIS country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it.

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the states. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government, as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?

By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief; and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any ex-

treme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, thing calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust in the best way our present difficulty.

# Room At 528 East Adams Street Where Lincoln Wrote Inaugural Address Mecca For Thousands From All Parts Of Globe

11-3-29  
You have all heard the story of Lincoln's writing his inaugural address—how, after he was elected president and craved time and quiet that he might compose a fitting address to the people, his own friends refused to let him alone. They broke into his solitude both at home and in his office, until, in desperation, he pleaded his case before his brother-in-law, C. M. Smith.

Mr. Smith then told him of a place in his building at 528 East Adams street, where he often retired to commune with himself. It was a little dark room with windows opening to a skylight and was reached by two steep flights of stairs. Not a very pretentious place, to be sure. Lincoln's desk stood just below the windows which admitted all the natural light to the room.

There it was that Lincoln wrote his immortal address aimed to pacify the turbulent fears of his restless countrymen. Daughters of the American Revolution placed a bronze tablet on the building commemorating the event during the Lincoln Centennial celebration in 1913. Since that time Miss Etta Ackerman, chairman of exhibitions at the Edwards place, who now occupies the room, says that hundreds of visitors trek up those stairs annually to view the place.

"They come from all over the world," she said. "I believe strangers just wander over the city looking for these signs."

But what a surprise awaits them after they have climbed these two flights and groped their way through a narrow hall. When one has finally found the door he probably knocks timidly expecting to find a narrow little room such as described above. He prepares himself to walk quietly so as not to disturb the dust of years or tear away the cobwebs of a century.

The surprise, then, is to have the door opened upon a spacious, airy room, brilliant with the light of day. More than a room, it is a home. No dust can be seen on the floors nor cobwebs on the walls. Instead the walls are hung with numerous colorful hand-painted pictures, the work of Miss Ackerman. Here and there about the room are little antique ornaments, knick-knacks and small pieces of sculpture.

We wonder what Lincoln's address would have been had he written it under those windows, which are still the same, but in the environment that the room now presents.

On one side is a beautiful afternoon scene at Old Salem with one of the original buildings; that would have kindled old memories of his boyhood to mingle with the protestations of a civil war seething in his brain. Against the opposite wall is a picture, in brilliant warm colors, of the ancient Castle Eltz; that should have inspired scenes of feudal days, with noble knights and sheltered ladies.

Standing in the corner are two pictures of the Venus de Milo. One, a bust picture, in exquisite light and shadow, was the travail of Miss Ackerman for eight or ten hours of every day during ten weeks. That was while she was studying in Dusseldorf, Germany, and when she was trying for the life certificate to teach in that country. The picture was considered finer than any that were accepted for the certificate and would certainly have won its painter the prize had she been permitted to continue her studies abroad for another year.

Lincoln, however, did not have these pictures nor any of their beautiful companions to inspire him for his address to a nation. He did not even have the bright spacious room which Miss Ackerman now inhabits. This large room is really two, and the one in which Lincoln wrote his address was less than a quarter of its size. The place where the partition was torn down is plainly seen. The stairs, too, have been changed since Miss Ackerman established her studio there nearly thirty years ago. So much has been changed that Lincoln, himself, might not recognize the place, were he to return.

Yet none of these facts serve to dampen the enthusiasm of Lincoln admirers who seek out the place in their ramblings. They come from far and near, as Miss Ackerman said, to vision Lincoln writing under the window. They take pictures of the window, look about, ask numerous

questions, and depart to seek another bronze tablet commemorating events in the life of the tall, silent man.



# LINCOLN LORE

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February 27, 1933

## INAUGURAL HIGHLIGHTS

No inaugural address in the history of the country was looked forward to with more foreboding than the message delivered by Abraham Lincoln on March 4, 1861. A single overt act or one inflammatory statement was all that was needed to cause open hostilities. Many thought that on this eventful day some personal assault would be performed or some ill-advised word would be spoken which would cause an immediate rupture between the two factions in the nation.

Search as they would through the remarkable address, friend and foe alike were unable to discover a single statement which could be used as a war cry. It was evident that the President still hoped that peace might be preserved. Lincoln's reply to the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts delegations on the day following the inauguration and his remarks to a committee from Virginia indicates his determination to abide by propositions set forth in the address.

The following excerpts present the outstanding arguments in the first inaugural address of Abraham Lincoln:

### *Introductory Statement*

"Fellow-citizens of the United States: In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office."

### *Apprehension Among Southerners*

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them."

### *Fugitive Slave Law*

"It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other."

### *Mental Reservations*

"I take the official oath today with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypocritical rules. And, while I do not choose\* now to

specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional."

### *Perpetuity of the Union*

"I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination."

### *Laws Faithfully Executed*

"I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States."

### *Sense of Security*

"The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections."

### *Destruction of National Fabric*

"Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?"

### *Restraint*

"A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sov-

ern of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism."

### *Separation*

"Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them.... Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you."

### *Amendments to the Constitution*

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

### *Source of Authority*

"The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government, as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor."

### *Issue of Civil War*

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'"

### *Conclusion*

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

\*Editor's Note: It has been suggested that the famous Coolidge quotation, "I do not choose," found its origin here.



# LINCOLN LORE

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## ORIGINAL DRAFT OF THE FIRST INAUGURAL

The seventy-fifth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address is an occasion worth memorializing. It is doubtful if a state paper delivered previous to it, or since, has been anticipated with more anxiety throughout the nation.

Lincoln students are aware that the first draft of the famous instrument was finished and printed before the President-Elect left Springfield for Washington. On February 2, 1861, he wrote to a friend, "I have the document blocked out; but in the now rapidly shifting scenes I shall have to hold it subject to revision up to the time of delivery."

The original draft was printed by one of the proprietors of the Illinois State Journal at Springfield to whom Lincoln entrusted his manuscript; and no one else seems to have been taken into the confidence of Mr. Lincoln as to its contents until after he started for Washington on February 11. Upon reaching Indianapolis February 12 he presented a copy to O. H. Browning, who had accompanied him from Springfield. Lincoln asked him to make such comments on it as he chose. Upon arriving at Washington Lincoln submitted a copy to Secretary Seward with the same invitation to criticize it. As far as we know these two men are the only ones who made any suggestions about certain revisions in the original copy.

Mr. Browning advised but one change, and it was adopted by Mr. Lincoln. According to some authorities it was the most important one in the entire document. Mr. Seward made thirty-three suggestions for improving the document and nineteen of them were adopted, eight were used after Mr. Lincoln had modified them, and six were discarded *in toto*. Mr. Lincoln himself without suggestion from any one made sixteen changes in the original draft.

In this bulletin and the one that follows there will be presented a comparative series of exhibits showing just what changes were made in the original and incorporated in the final copy. The excerpts are prefaced with the following symbols: "O" indicating Original Draft, and "F" referring to Final Copy. Symbols at the conclusion of the excerpts from the final copy make known who was responsible for the change (B) Browning, (S) Seward, and (L) Lincoln himself on his own initiative.

The final draft of the First Inaugural Address as delivered by Abraham Lincoln contains thirty-six paragraphs. The numbers refer to the paragraphs in the final copy where additions, omissions, or changes have been made in the revision of the first draft before incorporation in the address now known as "The First Inaugural."

1. Two paragraphs immediately following paragraph one in the original draft were omitted at the suggestion of Mr. Seward. They are presented herewith:

"The more modern custom of electing a Chief Magistrate upon a previously declared platform of principles, supercedes, in a great measure, the necessity of re-stating those principles in an address of this sort. Upon the plainest grounds of good faith, one so elected is not at liberty to shift his position. It is necessarily implied, if not expressed, that, in his judgment, the platform which he thus accepts, binds him to nothing either unconstitutional or inexpedient.

"Having been so elected upon the Chicago Platform, and while I would repeat nothing in it, of aspersion or epithet or question of motive against any man or party, I hold myself bound by duty, as well as impelled by inclination to follow, within the executive sphere, the principles therein declared. By no other course could I meet the reasonable expectations of the country."

2, O. "to say more than I have in relation to those matters of administration about which there is no special excitement."

F. "to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement." (L).

5, O. "to all the states."

F. "to all the states when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause." (L).

10. Clause added to paragraph by Mr. Lincoln:

"And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution, which guarantees that 'the citizen of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?'"

12, O. "It is now seventy-two years."

F. "It is seventy-two years." (L).

12, O. "and, on the whole, with great success."

F. "and generally with great success." (S).

12, O. "A disruption of the Federal Union is menaced and, so far as can be on paper, is already effected. The particulars of what has been done are so familiar and so fresh that I need not to waste any time in recounting them."

F. "A disruption of the Federal Union heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted." (S).

15, O. "It was further matured and expressly declared and pledged, to be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778."

F. "It was further matured and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778." (L).

16, O. "The Union is less perfect than before, which contradicts the Constitution, and therefore is absurd."

F. "The Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of its perpetuity." (L).

17, O. "nothing."

F. "void." (S).

17, O. "reasonable."

F. "revolutionary." (S).

18, O. "that the Union is unbroken; and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States."

F. "that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States." (S).

18, O. "tangible ways."

F. "authoritative manner." (S).

18, O. "it will have its own, and defend itself."

F. "it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself." (S).

19, O. "All the power at my disposal will be used to reclaim the public property and places which have fallen; to hold, occupy and possess these, and all other property and places belonging to the government and to collect the duties on imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion of any State."

F. "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but, beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere." (B).

(Continued in Lincoln Lore No. 359.)



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## ORIGINAL DRAFT OF THE FIRST INAUGURAL

(Continued from Lincoln Lore No. 358)

20, O. "refused."

F. "repelled." (L).

20, O. "This course will be pursued until current experience shall show a modification or change to be proper."

F. "The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections." (L).

21, O. "persons who seek."

F. "persons in one section or another who seek." (L).

22, O. "national Union would it not."

F. "national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes would it not." (L).

23, O. "constructed."

F. "constituted." (L).

23, O. "by affirmations and negations."

F. "by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions." (S).

24, O. "submit."

F. "acquiesce." (S).

24, O. "submission."

F. "acquiescence." (S).

24, O. "their own number."

F. "their own." (L).

24, O. "why may not South Carolina, a year or two hence, arbitrarily, secede from a new Southern Confederacy, just as she now claims to secede from the present Union? Her people, and indeed, all secession people, are now being educated to the precise temper of doing this."

F. "why may not any portion of a new Confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this." (L).

25, O. "a Southern Union."

F. "a new Union." (L).

26, O. "A constitutional majority is the only true sovereign of a free people."

F. "A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign." (S).

27, O. "to the object of the suit."

F. "to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government." (S).

27, O. "the greater evils of a different rule."

F. "the evils of a different practice." (L. & S.)

27, O. "but if the policy of the Government."

F. "At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government." (L. & S.)

27, O. "it is plain that the people will have ceased to be their own rulers having turned their government over to the despotism of the few life-officers composing the Court."

F. "the instant they are made, in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal." (L. & S.)

Following paragraph 27, Mr. Seward recommended that the paragraph here presented be stricken out:

"The Republican party, as I understand, have avowed the purpose to prevent, if they can, the extension of slavery, under the national auspices; and upon this arises the only dispute between the sections."

28, O. "One section believes slavery is right."

F. "One section of our country believes slavery is right." (S).

28, O. "as well enforced as any law."

F. "as well enforced, perhaps, as any law." (S).

28, O. "is against the law itself."

F. "imperfectly supports the law itself." (S).

28, O. "would be revived."

F. "would be ultimately revived." (S).

30, O. "As I am not much impressed with the belief that the present Constitution can be improved, I make no recommendations of amendments. I am, rather for the old ship, and the chart of the old pilots. If, however, the people desire a new, or an altered vessel, the matter is exclusively their own, and they can move in the premises, as well without as with an executive recommendation. I shall place no obstacle in the way of what may appear to be their wishes."

F. "I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable." (L).

31, O. "can do this if they choose."

F. "can do this also if they choose." (L).

32, O. "faith in the right."

F. "faith of being in the right." (L).

32, O. "be on our side or yours."

F. "be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South." (L. & S.)

33, O. "While the people remain patient, and true to themselves, no man, even in the presidential chair."

F. "While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration." (L. & S.)

34, O. "take time and think well."

F. "think calmly and well." (L. & S.)

34. On Mr. Seward's suggestion the words "Nothing worth preserving is either breaking or burning" were omitted.

35. Mr. Seward suggested striking out the words "unless you first assail it," which followed the clause "The Government will not assail you." Mr. Lincoln adopted the suggestion.

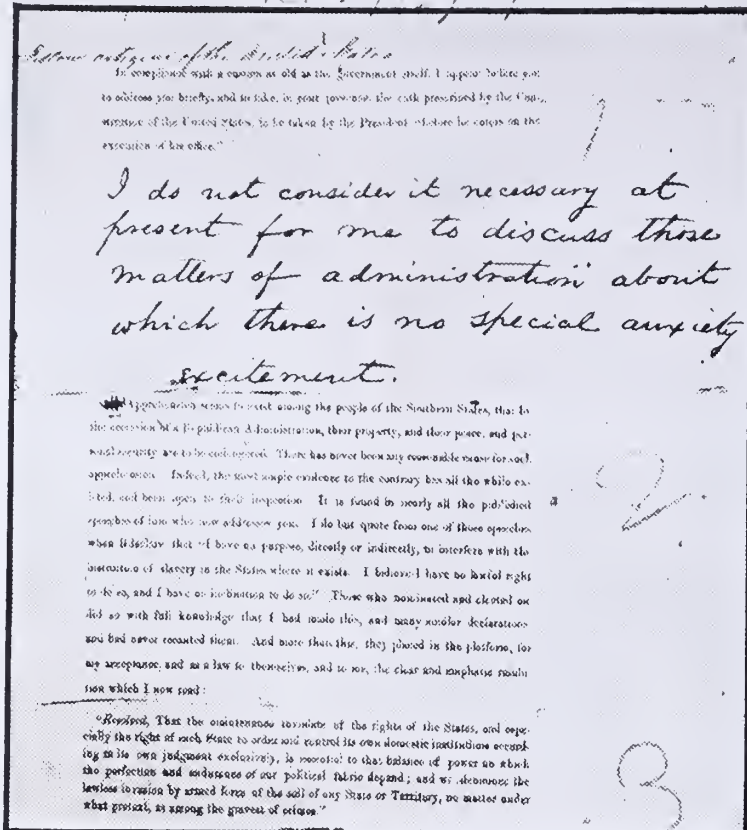
36, O. "You can forbear the assault upon it; I can not shrink from the defense of it. With you, and not with me, is the solemn question of "Shall it be peace, or a sword?"

F. "I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature." (L. & S.)



# Original Copy of Lincoln's Inaugural Address Found

Star Staff Photo



The first page of the lost original copy of President Lincoln's first inaugural address. —Star Staff Photo.

**By JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.**  
His own original copy of President Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address recently came to light in an old scrapbook once owned by the late Crosby Stuart Noyes, editor of The Star from 1867 until his death in 1908.

The unique and precious document is in 15 pieces. It was intact, of course, when Mr. Lincoln read it from a platform on the East steps of the Capitol Monday, March 4, 1861, and when, a few minutes after he had completed the reading of it, he handed it to Mr. Noyes for publication in The Star.

But in The Star office it was cut into "takes" to be distributed among compositors who set by hand the type used in printing the paper. Each separate "take" bears its number, some written in blue crayon, some in red, "1," "2," "3," etc.

More important, the text—actually a galley proof of the first draft of the address—is interlined with supplementary manuscript amendments and corrections in Mr. Lincoln's handwriting. For example, the sentence "I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement" has been introduced after the opening paragraph: "In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, to be taken by the President 'before he enters on the execution of his office.'"

**Lincoln Altered Language.**

the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion—no using of force against or among the people anywhere."

## Discusses His Duties.

The President, discussing his duty in his first draft, had spoken of the people as directing him in some "tangible way." He now struck out that term and wrote "authoritative manner."

Changing conditions prompted him to add the warning that the Government would "constitutionally defend and maintain itself."

"Mr. Lincoln's editorial labor, doubtless, was performed in Parlor No. 6 at Willard's Hotel, where he had been staying since February 23, the day of his arrival in Washington from Harrisburg. He carried the manuscript with him when he rode to the Capitol with President James Buchanan, had it in his hand when the oath was administered by Chief Justice Roger Taney. The paper was committed to Mr. Noyes as the inaugural ceremonies closed. Mr. Noyes hurried with it to The Star office. The text was printed in Vol. XVI, No. 2508, The Star, March 4, 1861.

Mr. Noyes preserved the reassembled document in his scrapbook with other relics of his career as a reporter and editor. When he died the book passed into the possession of his daughter, Mrs. George W. Boyd, later Mrs. Theodore L. Pomeroy. Now it is the property of Crosby Noyes Boyd, assistant advertising manager of The Star.

Similarly, Mr. Lincoln altered the language he had planned to employ in reference to his 15 predecessors in the presidency. He wrote originally, "They have conducted it (the Government) through many perils, and, on the whole, with great success." The phrase "on the whole" was stricken out and the word "generally" written in.

Mr. Lincoln eliminated approximately two entire lines of copy, following "a disruption of the Federal Union," to which, in their stead, he added: "Heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted." Further on, the President had asked: "In any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known to civilization and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man may be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave?" He supplemented his thought in the final text with another question: "And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?'"

## Writing Neat and Clear.

The writing is neat and clear, the ink a dark-brown black. Mr. Lincoln apparently was a slow, meticulous penman. His script has an artistic character, seemingly intended. The shading of his capital "A" surely is no accident.

Conscious anxiety for perfection of style also is discernible in his replacement of "think proper" with "choose" and "constructed" with "constituted." The President's legal training is reflected in the alteration of "nothing" to read "void," "treasonable" to read "revolutionary." He expanded his philosophy on the possible destruction of the Union by interpolating the phrase "having lost the vital element of perpetuity" in relation to the Constitution as affected by potential secession.

Half a dozen States already had seceded when Mr. Lincoln was editing his address. In direct prophetic reference to them, he wrote into the text: "I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in the States." Likewise: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess

1  
We like to read and quote over and over again President Lincoln's first inaugural address. We see no comparison between him and our present President in their attitude toward war, or toward life itself.

This is what Lincoln said to the South eighty years ago last month when the menace to our country was far greater than any foreign enemy today can possibly make it:

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without yourselves being the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend it.'"

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearth stone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Lincoln's one purpose was to save our Union. The one purpose of our present administration, as nearly as we can determine, is to give it away to the fighting nations of Europe which it calls democracies.

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, in his second warning against "Suicide" by drifting into war, said: "If we go to war, what are we going to war for? Mr. Roosevelt tells us we are to save 'the democracies.' The democracies are, presumably, England, China, Greece and possibly Turkey.



# JACK RAMEY



## Abe's First Inaugural Address

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was born in Hardin County, Kentucky February 12, 1809.

From his first inaugural address:

"Fellow citizens of the United States:

"In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly and take in your presence the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office."

"I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement."

"Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection."

"IT IS FOUND in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do not quote from one of those speeches when I declare that:

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

"Those who nominated and elected me did so with the full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them, and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"Resolved, that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

"I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now impending administration. I add, too, that all the protesting which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another."

"There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

"It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive

slaves, and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause 'shall be delivered up' their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?"

"There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by state authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should anyone in any case he content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?"

"Again: In any law upon this subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not in any case surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?'"

"I take the official oath today with no mental reservation and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by an hypercritical rule; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed than to violate any of them trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional."

"I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself."

"Again: If the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak—but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?"

"DESCENDING from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then 13 States expressly pledged and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was 'to form a more perfect Union.'

"But if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity."

"It follows from these views that no States upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence



ILLINOIS STATE JOURNAL, SPRINGFIELD, SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1961.

# Illinois State Journal





# JACK RAMEY



## Abe's First Inaugural Address

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was born in Hardin County, Kentucky February 12, 1809.

From his first inaugural address:

Fellow citizens of the United States:—  
In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly and take in your presence the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office.

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern states that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection.

★ ★ ★  
"IT IS FOUND in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you, I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that:

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

"Those who nominated and elected me did so with the full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them, and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"Resolved, that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgement exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now impending administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all the states when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

★ ★ ★  
"There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

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"It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive

slaves, and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause 'shall be delivered up' their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

"There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by state authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should anyone in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

"Again: In any law upon this subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not in any case surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that 'the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states'?"

"I take the official oath today with no mental reservations and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by an hypocritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed than to violate any of them trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional \* \* \*.

"I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these states is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

"Again: If the United States be not a government proper, but an association of states in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak—but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

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"It follows from these views that no states upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any state or states against

# Illinois State Journal

ILLINOIS STATE JOURNAL, SPRINGFIELD, SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1861



View of Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C., on March 4, 1861. Mr. Lincoln, accompanied by President Buchanan, on his way to the Capitol to be inaugurated. From a sketch by a special artist of "Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper." Note Capitol dome under construction. Picture courtesy of Illinois Historical Library.

## First Draft Of Lincoln Inaugural Address

### *Galley Proofs Of Speech Before It Was Revised*

Last fall the Illinois Historical Library bought a valuable item of Lincolniana—a set of galley proofs of the first draft of Lincoln's inaugural address. The state paid \$7,500 for the set.

Two other known sets of the galley proofs, which were printed in the Illinois State Journal shop, are in the Library of Congress.

In commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln as President, The Illinois State Journal and The Illinois State Register, through the courtesy of

the State Historical Library, publish the galley proofs of the first draft of Lincoln's speech.

The speech was not delivered as it appeared on these proofs. It was edited and revised; changed from its original form after conferences with Washington leaders. William H. Seward, who became Lincoln's Secretary of State, influenced some major changes in the text of the address.

The galley proofs are reproduced with editor's markings in the margins. The story of this important contribution to the Civil War Centennial observance is on page 3.

*Lincoln Inaugural Anniversary*  
**SOUVENIR EDITION**

# Lincoln's Inaugural Address Took First Form In State Journal Shop

By CARVL CARSTENS

On the night of March 4, 1961, a printer in the Illinois State Journal shop scanned with possessive pride the new president's inaugural address as it was prepared for use in the next morning's paper.

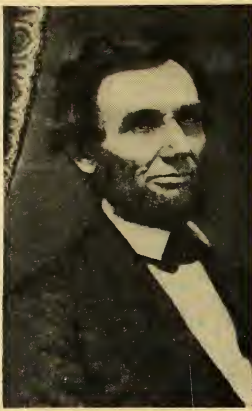
The address, delivered by Abraham Lincoln that morning in Washington, D.C., had been telegraphed immediately to the offices of the Illinois State Journal. For the printer it was his first opportunity to see what changes the new president had made in the speech the printer had helped to prepare.

Secretly, perhaps working late at night after the Journal was out and the rest of the printers had gone home, he set into type the first draft of Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address. It ran to eight galley sets to wide measure. From each galley of type he pulled at least three proofs.

Two of those proofs now are in the Library of Congress. The third is the property of the Illinois State Historical Library. Today, the Illinois State Journal reproduces those galley proofs. The corrections which may be seen are believed to have been made by E. L. Baker, editor in these days of the Journal, and an aggressive backer of Lincoln and the Republican party.

The set of proofs, which the library bought for \$7,500 last fall, according to State Historian Clyde Wadsworth has been in the possession of descendants of Baker until a few years ago when it was sold to a dealer of historical items.

After first revisions were made, the speech was again set in type here and at least five galley proofs were pulled. Some were sent to other leaders of the Republican party for suggestions. One copy Lincoln retained and used as his final copy. He rearranged some paragraphs by clipping and pasting, and made additions and changes in pen and ink.



This picture was taken by C. S. German of Springfield two days before Mr. Lincoln left for his inauguration in Washington. Picture courtesy of the Illinois State Historical Library.

Lincoln's last weeks in Springfield, Mississippi, Florida, field in the winter of 1860-61, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana were tense as news of secessions followed. In February Texas of southern states and the organization of a provisional Confederate government made it evident that a civil war might soon break out. South Carolina had seceded in December and Lincoln was often in conference with

political leaders from throughout the nation. There were cabinet appointments to be made and decisions on policy to be formulated. Generally, Lincoln avoided public comment on the rapidly worsening crisis, but there were a number of attempts to persuade him to state his views. All of these he resisted.

And then there were his fellow citizens of Illinois who waited each day to see him, to talk to him, and sometimes to touch him. In 1861 there were autograph hunters as there are now, hoping to get the signature of the man who was about to become president.

During the last campaign, Lincoln had an office in the old state house, the present court house, but late in December, 1860, he moved to an office in the Johnson building on the northwest corner of 4th and Washington Sts. There, in a vacant room over the store of his brother-in-law C. M. Smith, on the south side of the square, he worked on his inaugural address during January, 1861. On Feb. 2, he wrote George D. Prentiss, editor of the Louisville, Ky., Journal, that he had the speech "blacked out."

Among those who read the inaugural address in galley form here in Springfield was Judge David Davis of Bloomington. On Lincoln's trip east in February to his inauguration in Washington, D.C., O. H. Browning of Indianapolis, Ind., read it and suggested that he should not announce intention to recapture federal forts and property which had been taken by rebel forces.

William H. Seward, who was to become Lincoln's secretary of state, thoughtfully analyzed the speech and urged deletions and additions, most of which Lincoln accepted. The general effect of this advice was, as the biographers John C. Nicolay and John Hay summed up, "a more careful qualification of state intent, a greater ambiguity of

phrase, a gain in smoothness, but a loss in brevity and force."

Seward was against Lincoln's frank avowal in the second and third paragraphs of his first draft, as it is printed here, of his intentions to act on the principles of the GOP platform on which he had run for the presidency. Seward believed that such a statement by Lincoln would lead directly to civil war and that the "dismemberment of the republic would date from the inauguration of a Republican Administration." These paragraphs Lincoln removed.

From the standpoint of 20th century Americans, Seward's happiest suggestion was a plea for "some words of affection—some calm and cheerful confidence." Lincoln's first draft ended sternly.

"With you and not with me is the solemn question of 'Shall it be peace, or a sword?'" Lincoln had written as his closing statement here in Springfield. Seward drafted a possible conclusion which he thought might soothe to some degree the hot tempers of his countrymen.

Sometime in the last hours before his inauguration, Lincoln worked over Seward's words. The blunt closing statement he struck out and then he wrote on his manuscript, which was one of those five last sets of galley proofs set for him here, an eloquent plea for preservation of the Union which was to be won only by a terrible war.

"I am loathe to close," he wrote. "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chord of memory, stretching from every battlefield, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angel of our nature."



It is indeed fitting and proper that we pay tribute to the ideals and principles of Abraham Lincoln on this, the 100th Anniversary of his inauguration as President of the United States.

As the first Republican president, Mr. Lincoln left a heritage of idealism, wisdom and devotion to duty that has been the inspiration of our party for the past century, and will continue to be the hallmark of Republican principles in the years to come.

## SANGAMON COUNTY REPUBLICAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE

J. David Jones, Chairman

Mrs. A. H. Greening, Chairwoman



## I

In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of his office."

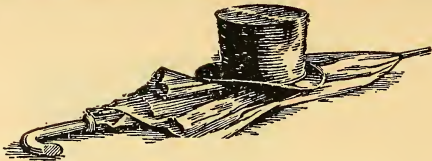
The more modern custom of electing a Chief Magistrate upon a previously declared platform of principles, supercedes, in a great measure, the necessity of repeating those principles in an inaugural address. Upon the plainest grounds of good faith, one so elected is not at liberty to shift his position. It is necessarily implied, if not expressed, that, in his judgment, the platform which he thus accepts, binds him to nothing either unconstitutional or inexpedient.

Having been so elected upon the Chicago Platform, and while I would repeat nothing in it, of aspersion or epithet or question of motive against any man or party, I hold myself bound by duty, as well as impelled by inclination to follow, within the executive sphere, the principles therein declared. By no other course could I meet the reasonable expectations of the country.

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to say more than I have, in relation to those matters of administration, about which there is no special excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property, and their peace, and personal security, are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many other similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves, and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

*"Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."*



## A Footnote To History

On February 11, 1861, Abraham Lincoln left Springfield for Washington to become President. Two days earlier he had gone to the Marine Bank and withdrawn \$400 from his account, leaving a balance of \$600.

At the same time he deposited with Robert Irwin, the bank's Cashier, certain securities for safekeeping and collection. These consisted of eleven notes representing sums he had loaned to Springfield residents, varying in amounts from \$150 to \$3,000 and totaling \$9,337.90. In addition, he turned over a Springfield City Bond for \$1,000, reduced by two payments to \$666.67; a certificate for six shares of Alton and Sangamon Railroad Stock; a certificate of scholarship in the Illinois State University, and a fire insurance policy and copy of the lease on his home. Including his real estate, his assets at that time had a value of approximately \$15,000.

The document listing the above securities and papers, written by Lincoln and receipted by Robert Irwin, was discovered in the files of the Marine Bank by Harry E. Pratt, the historian, twenty years ago. The discovery resulted in Pratt's interesting and important book, "The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln," which dispelled a myth of long standing that Lincoln, the small town lawyer, was somewhat improvident and careless in the handling of his financial affairs. Fifteen thousand dollars was a substantial accumulation; it would be worth about three times that amount today.

Abraham Lincoln became a depositor in the Marine Bank on March 1, 1853. After his death the account was continued by his administrator, Judge David Davis, until November 13, 1867. By that time, due to thrift and prudent management, the estate had grown to \$110,974.62 in cash and bonds, which were distributed equally among his widow and two sons, Robert and Thomas.

A ledger opened to show two pages of the account of A. Lincoln, in the beautiful handwriting of a bookkeeper of that day, is on display in the front of the lobby of the Marine Bank.

# Springfield Marine Bank

OLDEST BANK IN ILLINOIS

MEMBER FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION—MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

## 2

I now reiterate these sentiments: and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

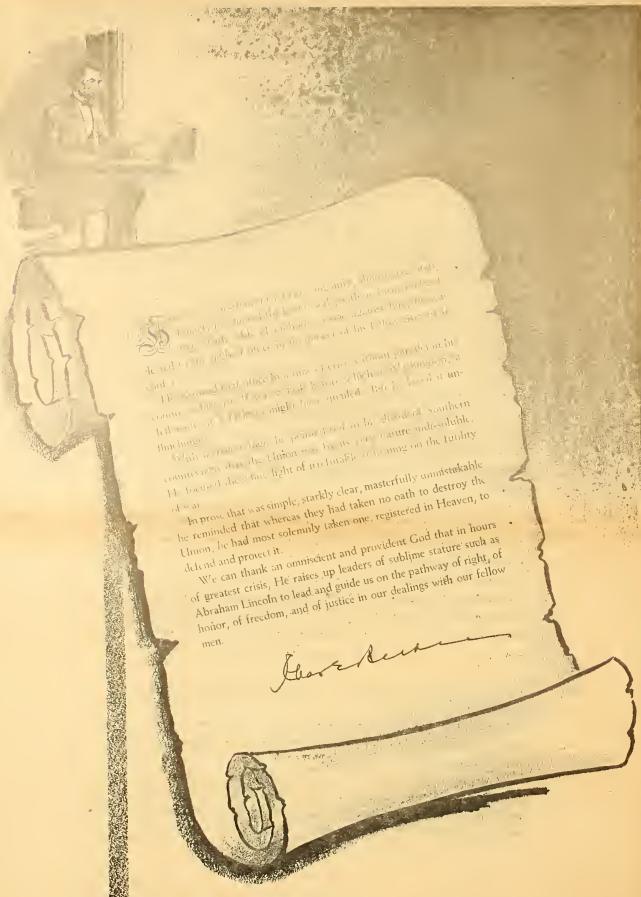
It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it, for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law-giver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause, "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would all begin in good temper, could they not, with something like nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law, through which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by state authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him, or to others, by which authority it is done. And should any one, in any case, be content that his oath shall go unkept, on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in human and civilized jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave?

I take the official oath to-day, with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws, by any hypocritical rules. And while I do not think proper now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.





# Franklin Life Insurance Company

800 South Sixth St. • Charles E. Becker, President

## 3

It is now seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During the period between then and now, fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens, have, in succession, administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils; and, on the whole, with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union is menaced, and, so far as can be on paper, is already effected. The particulars of what has been done are so familiar and so fresh, that I need to waste no time in recounting them. (c)

I hold, that in contemplation of universal law, and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper, ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever—it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade, by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was farther matured and expressly declared and pledged, to be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution, was "to form a more perfect union." (d)

But if destruction of the Union, by one, or by a part only, of the States, be lawfully possible, the Union is ~~less~~ perfect than before, which contradicts the Constitution, and therefore is absurd.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union;—that ~~resolves~~ *resolves* and *ordinances* to that effect are legally *nothing*; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, are insurrectionary or treasonable, according to circumstances. (e)

4

I therefore consider that the Union is unbroken; and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or, in some tangible way, direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will have its own, and defend itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless forced upon the national authority. All the power at my disposal will be used to reclaim the public property and places which have fallen; to hold, occupy and possess those, and all other property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties as impôts; but beyond what may be necessary for these, there will be no invasion of any State.

The mails, unless refused, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection.

That there are persons who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm or deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national Union, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step, while there is any possibility that any portion of the ill you fly from have no real existence? Will you while the certain ill you fly to, are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union, if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constructed, that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would, if such right were a vital one;—but such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities, and of individuals, are so plainly assured to them, by affirmations and negations in the Constitution, that contrivances never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every ques-

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General  
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tion which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. *May Congress prohibit slavery in the territories?* The Constitution does not expressly say. *Must Congress protect slavery in the territories?* The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not assent, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the government, is <sup>a question</sup> submission on one side or the other. If a minority, in such case, will secede rather than <sup>co-operate</sup> submit, they make a precedent which, in turn, will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own (number) will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not South Carolina, a year or two hence, arbitrarily, secede from a new Southern Confederacy, just as she now claims to secede from the present Union? Her people, and, indeed, all secession people, are now being educated to the precise temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a

*South Union*, as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession? [Will South Carolina be found lacking in either the reticence or the ingenuity to pick a quarrel with Kentucky?]

Plainly, the central idea of secession, is the essence of anarchy. A constitutional majority is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism is all that is left.

Some, if not all of the States which claim to have withdrawn from the Union, have declared the supposed grievances which impelled them to the separation. Most prominent among these is the charge, in substance, that the Republican party have avowed the purpose to destroy the property of the Southern people. With all due deference and respect, allow me to declare that the Republican party have made no such avowal. The Republican party of the nation have spoken but twice; and in both instances they expressly avowed what necessarily implies the exact contrary—in 1860, as already quoted in this discourse; and, in 1856, in their National Convention at Philadelphia, as I now read:

"Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preserv-

*secede*

*secede*

*secede as proposed before  
of the present Union must  
claim to secede from the*

*in some form*

*out  
h*



*Integrity...*  
*Dependability...*  
*Honesty...*



These terms best describe Abraham Lincoln... These same terms reflect the exacting standards set at Security Federal Savings and Loan Association many years ago. It is our constant aim to maintain these standards in order to best serve a growing Springfield.



**CARL H. WEBER**  
President

# Security Federal Savings And Loan Association

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CHARLES R. JONES  
Secretary-Treasurer

ation of Republican discipline, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, shall be preserved."

In addition to this, I aver that, to my knowledge, no sub-division, or individual, of the Republican party has ever avowed, or entertained, a purpose to destroy or to interfere with the property of the Southern people. For myself, I can declare, with perfect certainty, that I have never avowed, or entertained any such purpose; and I have never used any expression intended to convey such a meaning.

The Republican party, as I understand, have avowed the purpose to prevent, if they can, the extension of slavery, under the national auspices; and upon this arises the only dispute between the sections.]

One section believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people is against the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections, than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be revived without restriction, in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all, by the other.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence, and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible to make that intercourse more advantageous or satisfactory, after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

During the winter just closed, I have been greatly urged, by many patriotic men, to lend the influence of my position to some compromise, by which I was, to some extent, to shift the ground upon which I had been elected. This I steadily refused. I so refused, not from any party wantonness, nor from any indifference to the troubles of the country. I thought such refusal was demanded by the view that if, when a Chief





**"Let not him who is houseless pull  
down the house of another, but let  
him work diligently and build  
one for himself, thus by example  
assuring that his own shall be  
safe from violence when built"**

*A. Lincoln*

---

This quotation by Abraham Lincoln is exemplary of your  
Municipal Utility, which today, after 100 years of faith-  
ful public service stands as:

"A monument to the ability of the people to serve them-  
selves and build for posterity."

**CITY WATER, LIGHT & POWER**

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## 7

Magistrate is constitutionally elected, he cannot be inaugurated till he betrays those who elected him, by brooking his pledges, and surrendering to those who tried and failed to defeat him at the polls, this government and all popular government is already at an end. Demands for such surrender, once recognised, are without limit, as to nature, extent and repetition. They break the only bond of faith between public and public servant; and they distinctly set the minority over the majority.

I presume there is not a man in America, (and there ought not to be one) who opposed my elation, who would, for a moment, tolerate his own candidate in such surrender, had he been successful in the election. In such case they would all see, that such surrender would not be merely the ruin of a man, or a party; but, as a precedent would be the ruin of the government itself.

I do not deny the possibility that the people may err in an election; but if they do, the true cure is in the next election; and not in the treachery of the party elected.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope, in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on our side, no on your side, that truth and that justice will surely prevail, by the judgment of this great tribunal, the American people.

By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals.

While the people remain patient, and true to themselves, no man, even in the presidential chair, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. As I am not much impressed with the belief that the present Constitution can be improved, I make no recommendations of amendments. I am, rather, for the old ship, and the chart of the old pilots. If, however, the people desire a new, or an altered vessel, the matter is exclusively their own, and they can move in the matter, as well without as with an executive recommendation. I shall place no obstacle in the way of what may appear to be their wisdom.

This Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him in the terms of the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this if they choose; but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with

## 100 YEARS AGO...



As Abe Lincoln was drafting his first inaugural speech, that founded a new concept of freedom in America, a close friend and neighbor of Mr. Lincoln . . . Mr. Henson Robinson . . . was founding a new company in Springfield to deal in heating stoves, coal ranges and kitchenware, and they then became suppliers to Mr. Lincoln's home.

## 100 YEARS LATER...

The present Henson Robinson Co.—operated by the 3rd generation—design, engineer and install heating and air conditioning systems. Recently they were called upon to design and install a modern heating system in the Lincoln Home which would give modern day comfort in winter and in summer and which would not change the original appearance of the building.

Although the character of their operation has changed with the times, the Henson Robinson organization prides itself in the fact that the same conscientious, dependable service is a characteristic of the company that has not altered in a century.

*Henson C. Robinson, President*  
*H. Langdon Robinson, Vice President*

*Stuart W. Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer*  
*John Fisher, Asst. Treasurer*

*Cassius W. Cain, Vice President*  
*Raymond J. Laferriere, Vice President*

*Arthur Frescura, Asst. Secretary*

# HENSON ROBINSON CO.

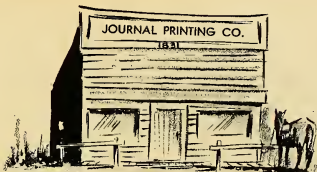
2015 CLEAR LAKE



it. His duty is to administer the present government, as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

My countrymen, one and all, take time and think well, upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. Nothing worth preserving is either breaking or burning. If there be an object in hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a point where you would never go deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied, hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him, who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. *Can* You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend" it. *Can* You can further the assault upon it; I can not shrink from the defense of it. With you, and not with me, is the solemn question of "Shall it be peace, or a sword?"



**We were young then...** but we were here — a proud little printing and book binding business that also printed fancy ladies' calling cards and theatre posters on huge wooden blocks.

Originally a part of the newspaper plant which printed the original Inaugural address of Mr. Lincoln. It was here that Mr. Lincoln had received the news of his nomination in May of 1860.

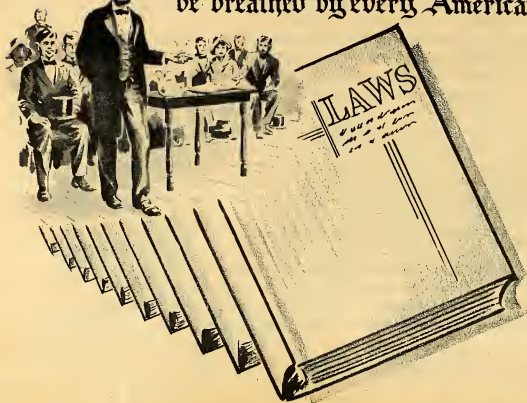
The Journal Printing Co. is proud to claim a heritage which dates back to Lincoln's days in Springfield. We solemnly pay tribute to this great man on this 100th Anniversary of his inauguration to the Presidency.

# JOURNAL PRINTING CO.

"OVER 100 YEARS OF SERVICE"

801 E. ADAMS, SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

"Let reverence for the Laws  
be breathed by every American..."



FROM THE PEN of Abraham Lincoln, the Prairie Lawyer, has flowed many of history's most priceless expressions of wisdom and human insight. These expressions will live forever in American annals. Some of his sayings serve as a constant reminder that we Americans, under our system of free government, have an almost unlimited abundance of opportunities—and many accompanying obligations—as citizens.

ONE OF THE LEAST quoted, but nevertheless significant, statements ever made by Lincoln touched on the subject of respect for laws. Although he was reared in the wilderness where laws were few and simple, he early saw the need for laws to establish order and tranquility. From his thoughts on the subject, he left this immortal rejoinder to all Americans:

*"Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."*

A GREAT PRINCIPLE for all Americans . . . for all time . . . to remember and practice! It should never be forgotten that respect for laws and love of country are synonymous expressions.

**ILLINOIS STATE BAR ASSOCIATION**

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# Chicago Sunday Tribune

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## OUR "BETTER ANGELS"

The other day, in the unlikely setting of the offices of the House rules committee, the inescapable qualities of Abraham Lincoln's mind and heart again found evocation. It has been like that these hundred years since he took office as the 16th President in 1861. Wherever we turn we meet his shrouded, haunting, but living figure.

The business before the rules committee was a resolution proposing that Lincoln's first inauguration be reenacted this year. The resolution was replete with "whereases," concluding, "Whereas the better angels do, in fact, touch us, now therefore be it resolved . . ."—a perfect example of how the poetry of Lincoln's language can be befogged by the mind of the parliamentarian.

Even the committee chairman had reservations about the propriety of classifying the angels between better and worse elements, until it was pointed out to him that the language was taken directly from Lincoln's first inaugural, whose concluding passage was an eloquent appeal that the Union be preserved. To his "dissatisfied fellow countrymen" of the seceding states, he cried:

"We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Tho passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield, and patriot grave, to

every heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

The congressman's resolution was ordered rewritten by the rules committee. This would not have offended Lincoln, for he had rewritten the passage several times himself. In one version, "the better angels of our nature" had been expressed as "the guardian angel of our nation." With Lincoln's sure instinct for language, he turned to the unforgettable phrase.

Lincoln was not accounted a religious man by some of his countrymen, for, tho he attended church services, he was not a formal member of any communion. Yet he was as closely reliant on God, and believed as fervently in ultimate justice, as any statesman in any time. He felt in his heart that truth and justice and charity could be transmitted from their divine source thru the people, and would find clear expression thru them, as well as the strength to prevail.

As long as Americans merit this essential confidence which Lincoln reposed in them, their Republic and Union will stand against any divisive force and any peril. It is the character of the people upon which our liberty is founded, and from which our national life attains its vitality to endure. In this cause we must always appeal to the better angels of our nature.

## Lincoln Warned Of Court Rule

I read in your letters' column that ex-Governor Fuller Warren considers Abraham Lincoln the most Christ-like figure since Christ.

While I do not subscribe to the near divinity of Mr. Lincoln, I do read something written by him every February 12. This year's perusal yielded the following, which the people of the United States would do well to heed:

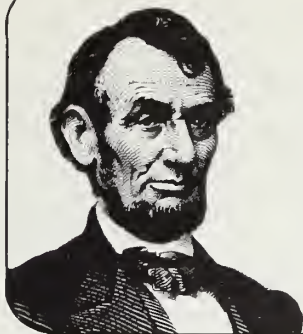
First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861:

"... At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation, between parties in personal

actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal."

H LOEB





# Lincoln Lore

April, 1980

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.  
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the  
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Number 1706

## BROWNING'S PECULIAR TURN TO THE RIGHT

Those who keep diaries often influence the writing of history far more than they influenced events in their own day. Gideon Welles occupied a position in Lincoln's Cabinet inferior to William H. Seward's and Edwin M. Stanton's, but his sourly independent diary wrecked the reputations of dozens of Washington politicians. One reason the Radical Republicans have fared so poorly in historical writing is that most of the prominent diarists around Lincoln hated them. Welles, John Hay, and Edward Bates saw them as "Jacobins," but there is little evidence that the President saw the Radicals the same way. Salmon P. Chase, whose diary might have balanced the picture over the years, never had the influence on historical writing that the conservatives had, because he did not as clearly admire Lincoln as they did. Criticizing Abraham Lincoln has never been a good way to gain the trust of historians.

The other great diarist near the Lincoln administration, Orville Hickman Browning, was also a Radical-hater. His erratic and ultimately inexplicable political course during the Civil War reveals the danger in relying too heavily on diaries, which may reflect peculiar political positions.

Browning was never much of a "Lincoln man." He had hoped that Edward Bates would be the Republican nominee for President in 1860. However, the Illinois delegation, of which Browning was a member, was pledged to Lincoln, and Browning worked for Lincoln's nomination at the convention. Even after the nomination, Browning thought that "we have made a mistake in the selection of candidates." His assistance in getting Bates to support the Republican ticket proved vital, but Browning had little luck in recommending Cabinet appointments. He wanted to see Bates become Secretary of State and Joseph Holt, Secretary of War. Browning's was one of many voices raised against Norman B. Judd's inclusion in Lincoln's official family.

Browning exercised his greatest influence on the Lincoln

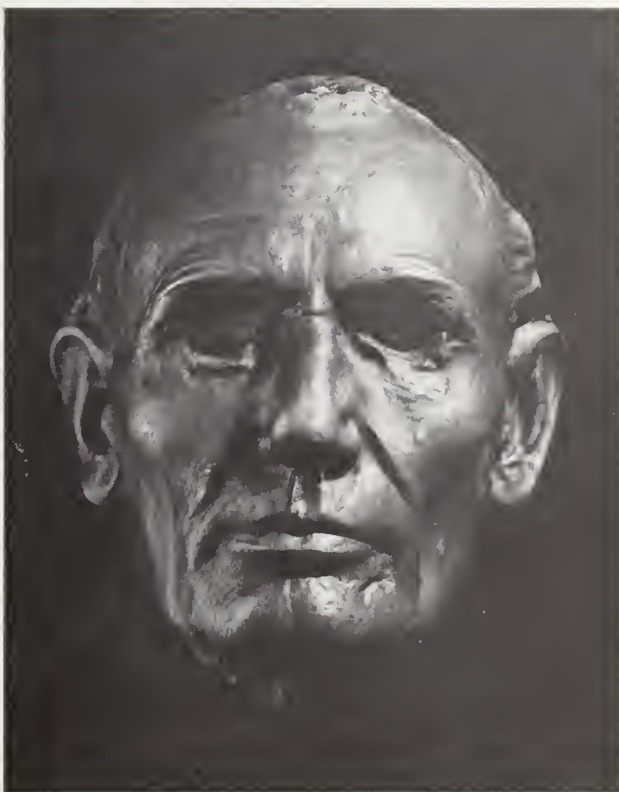
administration when he read a draft of the First Inaugural Address and suggested removing a provocative threat to "reclaim the public property and places which have fallen" in the seceded states. Browning's reasoning has often been taken as Lincoln's. He admitted that Lincoln's draft was right in principle without altering the threat to "reclaim" federal property, but, Browning explained,

In any conflict which may ensue between the government and the seceding States, it is very important that the traitors shall be the aggressors, and that they are kept constantly and palpably in the wrong.

The first attempt that is made to furnish supplies or reinforcements to Sumter will induce aggression by South Carolina, and then the government will stand justified, before the entire country, in repelling that aggression, and retaking the forts.

After Fort Sumter fell, Browning imputed his own reasoning to Lincoln. "Upon looking into the laws," he told the President on April 18, "which clothe you with power to act in this emergency, I am not sure that you expected, or desired any other result."

Browning was a conservative by nature, but war brought out a radical streak in him. If Baltimore stood in the way of troops coming to protect Washington, he told Lincoln, it should be "laid in ruin." Before April was over, he thought it likely that slaves would flock to the Union armies and inevitably "rise in rebellion." "The time is not yet," he added, "but it will come when it will be necessary for you to march an army into the South, and proclaim freedom to the slaves." Browning celebrated General John C. Frémont's proclamation freeing the slaves of rebels in Missouri in the late summer of 1861, and he thought the President wrong to revoke it. Frémont's proclamation did "not deal with citizens at all," Browning remonstrated, "but with public enemies." Citing precedents in international law, he insisted that war abolished society and



From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum

**FIGURE 1.** Browning recalled that sculptor Leonard W. Volk had worked in a marble yard in Quincy, Illinois, Browning's home. Lincoln's friend thought Volk's bust of Stephen A. Douglas "decidedly a work of genius." Volk is better known for his famous life mask of Lincoln. Dr. O. Gerald Trigg allowed the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum to photograph his superb bronze casting of the mask with the striking result above. For more information on the mask and on Volk's famous castings of Lincoln's hands, turn to the second article in this issue of *Lincoln Lore*.



gave "liberty to use violence *in infinitum*." "All their property," Browning said, "is subject to be . . . confiscated, and disposed of absolutely and forever by the belligerent power, without any reference whatever to the laws of society." Lincoln disagreed sharply.

After the death of Senator Stephen A. Douglas in June of 1861, Governor Richard Yates appointed Browning to finish his term. In the Senate, Browning defended the administration's arbitrary arrests and voted for the First Confiscation Act. He voted to emancipate slaves in the District of Columbia.

After April of 1862, Browning turned suddenly to the right. He opposed the Second Confiscation Act and urged Lincoln to veto it. It was a test "whether he [Lincoln] was to control the abolitionists and Radicals or whether they were to control him." He praised Lincoln's letter in answer to Horace Greeley's "Prayer of Twenty Millions" for emancipation, and he bitterly opposed the Emancipation Proclamation that fall. Browning was campaigning for Congressional candidates in Illinois when he heard it had been issued, and he practically stopped in his tracks. He slowed down his campaigning, and he twice pleaded with Lincoln to alter the Proclamation.

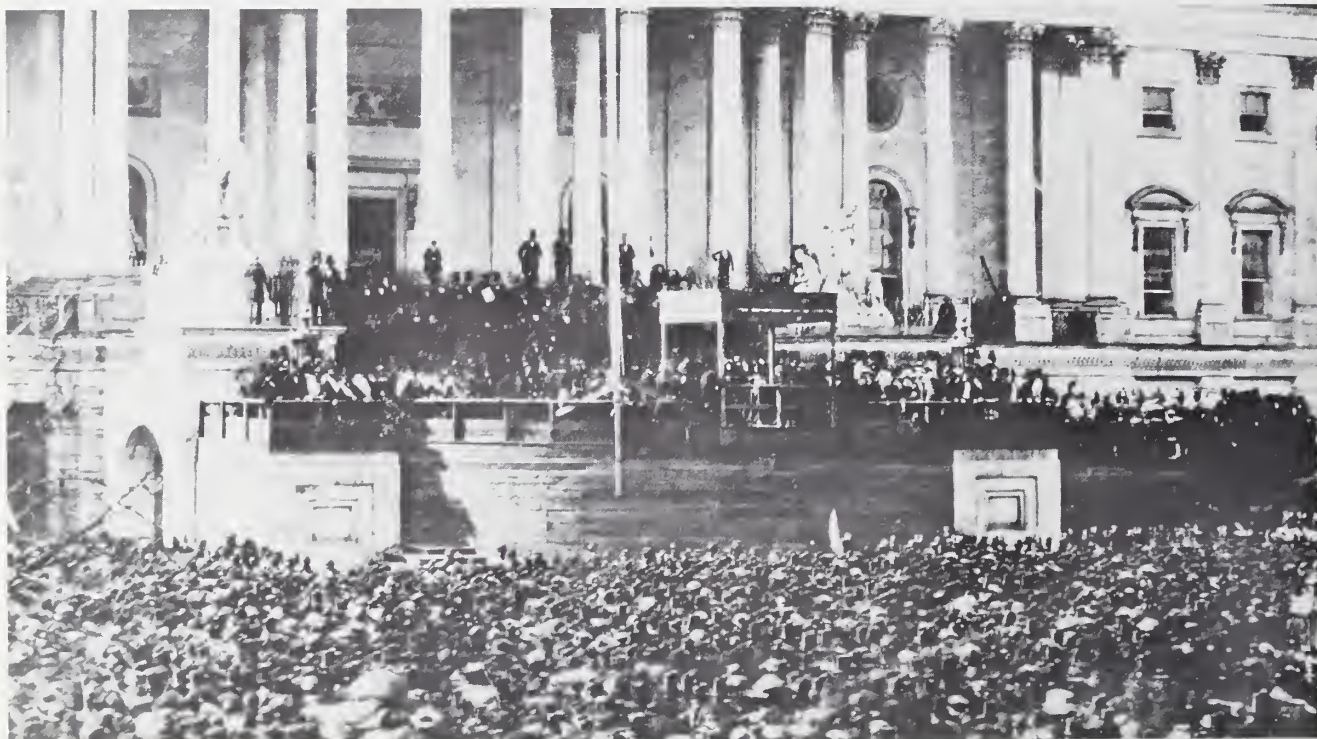
There is no explanation for the suddenness of Browning's change. In principle the Emancipation Proclamation was little different from Frémont's proclamation, and Browning had quarreled with Lincoln for revoking that. Lincoln's assault on slavery seemed to be legitimate by the very precedents in international law which Browning had called to Lincoln's attention. The Illinois Senator was disappointed that the President had not appointed him to the United States Supreme Court. He wanted the job so badly that he wrote Lincoln a somewhat embarrassed letter asking for it outright, admitting that it was "an office peculiarly adapted to my tastes." By the spring of 1862, Lincoln still had not filled the position, and many thought Browning was still in the running. Lincoln did not decide to appoint David Davis until July, and Browning had already turned to the right by that time.

Politically, Browning became increasingly disaffected from the administration. There was much doubt by 1864 that he would support Lincoln's reelection. Browning told a friend in September that he had "never . . . been able to persuade myself that he [Lincoln] was big enough for his position." No one knows how he voted in November. Browning's Civil War politics are an enigma to this day.



From the Louis A. Warren  
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**FIGURE 2.** Orville Hickman Browning remained personally friendly to Lincoln even after their political disagreements. Gustave Koerner, a fellow Illinois Republican, always remembered Browning's "conspicuous . . . ruffled shirt and large cuffs." Their relations were pleasant enough, but Koerner would "have liked him better if he had been a little less conscious of his own superiority."



**FIGURE 3.** Lincoln's first inauguration.

From the Louis A. Warren  
Lincoln Library and Museum



Feb. 1992

M & S Rare Books, Inc.  
Weston, Mass. Cat. 54

well-known writer on international law supported state's rights but not secession, although at the same time, in this work, opposing coercion by the Union.

271. (LAW). CROMPTON, RICHARD. L'Autorité et Jurisdiction des Courts de la Majestie de la Roygne... London: Printed by the Assignes of John More Esquire, 1637. 2nd ed. 8vo. [4 leaves], 232 leaves. Full contemp. calf, skillfully rebacked to match. Top edge trimmed close, corner of early leaves frayed. Worming toward the back, some repaired. **\$325.00**

S.T.C. 6051. The first edition was published in 1594, and is very rare.

272. (LAW). (DU PONCEAU, PETER). Review of Du Ponceau on the Jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States [there follows a list of nine cases]... [Philadelphia 1824?]. 1st ed. 8vo. 60 pp. Removed. **\$175.00**

Shoemaker 17800 (one); NUC adds a second copy. Includes "Bank of the United States vs. Maryland," and "The Cohens vs. Virginia" (not in Rosenbach or Singerman).

273. (LAW). (JUDICIARY ACT). Debates in the Senate of the United States on the Judiciary, During the First Session of the Seventh Congress; Also, the Several Motions, Resolutions, and Votes, Taken Upon That Momentous Subject; and a Complete List of the Yeas and Nays, as Entered on the Journals. Philadelphia: E. Bronson, 1802. 1st ed. 8vo. 324 pp. Sewn, without binding. Title foxed. **\$275.00**

S & S 3273. Sabin 19105. Full account of the debate, on a motion of John Breckenridge of Kentucky, which preceded repeal of the controversial Judiciary Act of 1801, seen by the incoming Jeffersonians chiefly as a means of providing employment for defeated Federalists. "This action, at least as partisan as that of 1801, restored the Judiciary Act of 1789 to full force. The repeal debate thoroughly canvassed the issue of judicial review, set forth the Jeffersonian theory of legislative supremacy and furnished the political setting for Marbury v. Madison." -DAH.

274. LAWRENCE, WILLIAM BEACH. French Commerce and Manufactures, and Negro Slavery in the United States. Letter to the Editor of the "Journal des Debats," from the National Quarterly Review, Isaac Lawrence, Editor, June 1st, 1860. N.p. [1860]. First American edition. 8vo. 16 pp. Orig. printed wrappers. **\$200.00**

LCP/HSP Afro-Americana Catalogue, 5726, the Paris edition, in French. Sabin 39381, the French edition: "This essay awakened much interest in Europe, and was translated for, and published in, the 'London Morning Chronicle,' under the following [our] title," but not noting a separate printing. Lawrence, a

#### The First English Edition

275. LEWIS, [MERIWETHER] and [WILLIAM] CLARKE. Travels to the Source of the Missouri River and Across the American Continent to the Pacific Ocean...in the Years 1804, 1805, and 1806...Illustrated by a Map of the Route, and Other Maps. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814. First English Edition. Thick 4to. 24, 663, [1] pp., plus half-title. Three single-page maps & large folding map (with offsets, and a few fold repairs). Contemp. marbled boards, neatly rebacked in calf, with leather label. An excellent copy. **\$6500.00**

The large folding western map is one of the great works of American cartography. Published shortly after the American edition (Philadelphia 1814). Wagner-Camp 13:2. Howes L 317. Streeter V, 3128. Wheat, Transmississippi West, 317.

276. (LINCOLN) Proclamation of Emancipation. [Caption title] [Davenport, Iowa: W. H. Pratt, 1865]. Lithographic broadside, 15" x 12". Fine. **\$400.00**

Eberstadt 40: "An interesting calligraphic portrait of Lincoln, after Meserve 87, and made by skillful shading of the handwritten text..." See also the full-page illustration in Eberstadt. Weaving the text of the proclamation into an accurate portrait of Lincoln this is, we think, perhaps the most attractive of all the printings, like most, done at the conclusion of the War, undoubtedly as a fitting memorial to Lincoln's most important executive action.

277. (LINCOLN) Proclamation of Emancipation. [Caption title.] In German [Davenport, Iowa: W.H. Pratt, 1865]. Lithographic broadside, 15" x 12". Fine.

**\$350.00**

Eberstadt 41. Lithographed by A. Hageboeck of Davenport.

**"The Mystic Chords of Memory": Rare Chicago Newspaper Broadside EXTRA of Lincoln's First Inaugural Address**

278. (LINCOLN). Chicago Tribune EXTRA. Monday, March 4, 1861. Inaugural Message of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States. [Caption title]. Broadside, 24" x 9", printed in three columns. Chicago: Chicago Tribune, 1861. Lightly foxed, somewhat narrow left margin, date "1861" in ink at top, date in caption underlined in red; several folds, but

very good, without any tears or holes.

**\$3250.00**

Of Lincoln's first inaugural, Carl Sandburg wrote: "It was momentous to Lincoln and the country because it told why he would make a war if he saw a war as justified and inevitable." --Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 125. "In the critical interval between his election and his inauguration Lincoln continued his policy of silence, making no speeches and avoiding public statements as to his policy....", but in this inaugural he declared the Union perpetual and denounced secession as anarchy. He "closed with a poetic reminder of those 'mystic chords of memory' which he hoped would yet 'swell the chorus of the Union.'" --DAB. Not in Monaghan or Chicago *Ante-Fire* Imprints. Barrett, Lincoln Collection Auction (1952), # 272, for an extra published by the *Daily Chicago Post*, only. Very rare. A wonderful survival.

#### Lincoln's Defeat Predicted

**279. (LINCOLN). BROUGHTON'S MONTHLY PLANET READER AND ASTROLOGICAL JOURNAL.** Vol. I, # 1 - vol. IX, # 1; April 1860 - December 1869 [all published]. 43 issues, a complete file. Philadelphia [beginning in 1864 New York]: L.D. Broughton, 1860-69. 8vo. Three portraits of Lincoln, plus other political figures of the day. Later cloth.

**\$650.00**

Monaghan 30, noting two issues devoted to Lincoln. The issue for Sept. 1860 predicts the election of Douglas; the issue for Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1864 predicts his re-election and warns against attempts on his life late in the year. The issue for July-Aug.-Sept. 1865 reminds readers of the previous prediction, and achieved a notoriety at the time. Published irregularly, complete runs such as this are rarely found.

#### The Emancipation Proclamation: Official State Department Folio Printing

**280. LINCOLN, ABRAHAM.** By the President of the United States of America. A Proclamation. [Caption title]. [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1863 (Jan. 3). Folio. 4 pp. Printed on recto of first leaf only. Some staining & chipping, text fine. Rare.

**\$1000.00**

Eberstadt 10. Third edition, the official State Department folio. This printing is the true enabling document, the official declaration of policy, rarely available for sale.

**281. (LINCOLN.) Political Cartoon, "The Grave of the Union. Or Major Jack Downing's Dream. Drawn by Zeke."** New York: Bromley & Co., 1864. At head: "Political Caricature No. 1." 16 1/4" x 20 1/2." Several short tears closed without loss, the most serious

extending into a blank portion of the image in the upper righthand corner. Top and bottom margins slightly dusty.

**\$275.00**

A fine political cartoon depicting a cart driven by Henry Ward Beecher being pulled by four "jackasses" (Cochrane, Butler, Meagher, Dickinson) from which four coffins have been unloaded by Lincoln and members of his cabinet (Chase, Welles and Seward). Horace Greeley and Charles Sumner are lowering the casket labeled "Constitution" into the grave while Elizabeth Cady Stanton (holding a black child) looks on, saying: "Not Thy Will Oh Lord! But Mine Be Done." *America on Stone*, p. 406.

**282. (LINCOLN.) Political cartoon, "The Old Bull on the Right Track."** New York: Currier & Ives, 1864. Lithograph, 11 3/4" x 17". Slightly dusty, light, spotty foxing. Several breaks neatly repaired with very slight loss.

**\$225.00**

Bland 1665. Fine pro-Lincoln cartoon depicting a bulldog (Grant) about to enter a doghouse (Richmond) around which cower several dogs (Davis, Lee, Beauregard). Off to the side a pompous McClellan warns Lincoln against such an action, to which Lincoln replies: "Why little Mac that's the same pack of curs, that chased you aboard the Gunboat two years ago, they are pretty nearly used up now & I think its best to give the old bull dog full swing to go in and finish them."

#### Portrait of One Senator Presented by Another

**283. LINN, DR. LEWIS FIELD[S].** Medium folio black & white lithographic portrait of Linn, Senator from Missouri. From life on stone by Ch. Fenderich, printed by Lehman & Duval of Philadelphia, published at Washington, [1837]. Slight foxing, ink bleed through from verso.

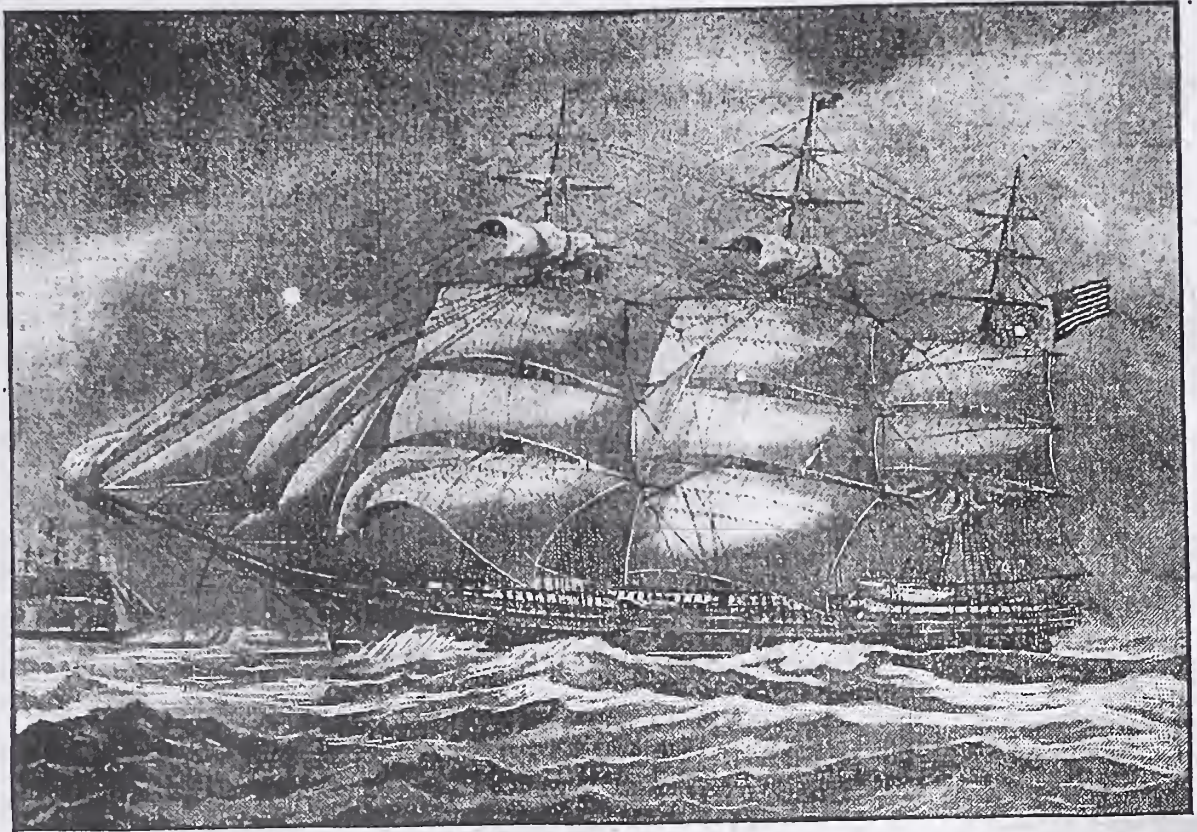
**\$425.00**

Linn served as Senator from Missouri from 1833 until his death in 1843. With his Missouri cohort, T.H. Benton, Linn supported 'manifest destiny' in Oregon. See *DAB*. On the verso, inscribed in ink: "The enclosed Portrait of Doct. Lewis F. Linn of St. Genevieve, Missouri, is presented to the young lady, daughter of William Linn Esq. of Brownsville, Pa. I saw at Uniontown in August last as I was on my way to Washington City. Richard M. Young, Senator from Illinois. Dec. 1st 1837. Young served as Senator from 1837-43, and was previously known as a circuit riding judge in Illinois, especially during the Blackhawk War of 1832, a period of constant danger. See J.F. Snyder, "Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois, Richard M. Young," in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* for 1906. A highly unusual political association.

**284. LIVINGSTON, JOHN H.** Oratio Inauguralis de Veritate Religionis Christianae... Neo-Eboraci [New York]:



# CARRIED LINCOLN'S FIRST MESSAGE.



MERCHANTSHIP STAGHOUND.

In the offices of Messrs G. B. Upton and E. Sears of 68 Devonshire st are several paintings of famous Boston-built merchant ships, who in their day were very famous vessels. Among them will be found the Bald Eagle, Romance of the Seas and Staghound. They were all extreme clippers and noted for their great speed.

A blue water clipper of the early 50s ranked in interest with the Cunard and Collins' steam liners of that period. A captain of a clipper ship was a man of considerable importance, who on arrival in New York or Boston, after a record passage, was treated to a full column in the Herald or Tribune and was a star guest of the Astor house or St Nicholas of New York, or the Tremont and Revere of Boston during his stay in port.

A Boston clipper was par excellence, a marine creation which for beauty of form, strength in construction and general outfit was the most conspicuous vessel that sailed the seas half a century ago. Donald McKay of East Boston contributed very extensively to bring the name and fame of a Boston clipper to the exalted position it stood among the nations of the world at that period.

The three vessels before named were built for Mr G. B. Upton by the last-named shipwright. The Staghound, in which our chief interest is centered, was built in 1852. She was an ultra-clipper and made some remarkable passages between eastern ports, San Francisco, China and the Indies. In due course of time she was sold to Messrs Sampson & Tappan, and from them transferred to the firm of E. & R. W. Sears, merchants and shipholders, of State st.

This was in 1860. In the spring of the following year she was thoroughly overhauled and placed on a New York berth for a voyage to London, expecting on the arrival at that port to obtain an Australian charter, and in order to facilitate matters a first-class skipper was placed in command. She was ready for sea on March 2.

Now it so happened that James Gor-

don Bennett, hearing of the expected sailing of the Staghound, conceived an idea that there might be a possibility of the vessel reaching London before the regular mail steamer, and so he made arrangements with the captain and owners to take a copy of Lincoln's first inaugural address, promising that if the Staghound delivered the message in advance of the mail packet a very handsome prize would be given.

The Staghound sailed from New York early Sunday morning, March 3, with the precious document on board. The mail steamer America left Boston harbor on the afternoon tide of March 6. The Staghound arrived off Gravesend March 18. The captain hastened forward the telegraphic message to London of the inaugural address, as directed by James Gordon Bennett, and was over half-way through when message came that they were receiving a similar message via Liverpool from the steamship America, which had just arrived, and stopped short the message via the Staghound.

The captain claimed his reward, as it was proved conclusively that the message by the Staghound was in the hands of the telegraph operator some short time ahead of the one sent by the America via Liverpool, and the captain got the prize.

The Staghound did not succeed in getting her expected Australian charters, and, as the owners wanted her in the Pacific as soon as possible, she was sent to Newcastle, Eng, for a load of ballast coal, and then ordered to San Francisco. All went well until they got off the coast of South America, when the ship took fire from spontaneous combustion of the coal, and so rapid was the spread of the flames and the density of the smoke that the captain was unable to rescue any of his private property from his cabin.

On beating a retreat from that section he thought of the great American ensign that was stowed away in the flag locker, and, as he passed, he made sure of the stars and stripes and wound it around his body and jumped into the boat. The ship was then 400 miles from

the coast, and, after several days of exposure and suffering, the captain and crew arrived safely at Pernambuco; from thence the captain made his way as well and as rapidly as transportation at his command would allow him, to Boston.

On entering the office of the Messrs Sears, he threw down a large bundle, stating that it contained the dear old flag, and that is all that is left from the Stag Hound. Mr Eben Sears had the flag conveyed to his private residence in Worcester st, at that time a very exclusive locality.

The ensign was very large. It was the custom those days, for American ships to carry an enormous mass of bunting, when you took it into consideration, the burgee, which was often 40 feet in length, a whip 50 or 60 feet, the stars and stripes proportionately large, the size of the house flags and code of marine signals. Mrs Sears took charge of the beautiful flag as a souvenir, and it was used on all eventful or patriotic occasions. Just four years afterward President Lincoln had given his second inaugural, and the whole country was looking anxiously for the surrender of Richmond. Mrs E. Sears gave special instructions that she should have the news of the fall as early as possible after its capture so that she might have the flag out in honor of the event.

It so happened on that memorable morning that Mr Sears, as was his usual custom, on his way to his office, dropped in at the old Merchants' Exchange and inquired of Mr John S. Smith, the manager, concerning ship intelligence. During the interview the manager was called away by the "ticker," returning shortly with the glorious intelligence that Gen Devens had entered Richmond.

Mr Sears asked as a great favor if the manager would hold the news from the general public long enough to give him a chance to apprise Mrs Sears of the joyful occurrence. This was granted. Mrs Sears got the first news, and the flag of the Stag Hound was the first piece of bunting that floated on the Boston breeze in honor of the fall of Richmond.



## Cum gratia or Just Inaugural address

Its uneditorial finish, its overbearing expression  
its evidently hidden policy, its weak, waxy, waxy,  
waxy-fatty, non-understandable balbs of stuff render  
it the most ridiculous document that has ever  
appeared in Washington City.

Endured  
Wesleyan Telegraph Nov 5, 1861

FIRST INAUGURAL SPEECH

DRAWER 6

FIRST INAUGURAL



